TN S J
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
37614

The Nation.

January 12, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

JAN 11 1985

WITHDRAWN

ETSU LIBRARY

EDITORIAL

MEAN-STREAK CULTURE

There is a mean streak in American culture, and it finds expression this winter in acts of vigilante vengeance, attacks on abortion clinics and the campaign of murder, assault and robbery waged by the racist, anti-Semitic Silent Brotherhood. The cases are different in meaning and consequence, but they bespeak a common sense of rage born of civic breakdown. They are terrorist acts in the most frightening sense, for they make mayhem out of unreason and exploit the worst impulses and biggest fears of the community for the purpose of creating disorder.

Vigilante terrorism may be approaching crisis proportions, and the fault must be laid on the political leadership of the land; it seems to sanction the emotional causes that give rise to the violence, even while condemning the acts themselves. President Reagan invites Joseph Scheidler, the militant antiabortion leader, to the White House, Scheidler winks at the clinic bombings and we get the message.

In New York, Mayor Edward Koch has managed to organize his white electoral constituency against the black and Hispanic populations. Everyone knows where Koch stands, whom he likes and whom he routinely demeans and excludes. After the "Death Wish" vigilante shot four black youths in a subway car, Koch spoke out against the crime, but how much of the climate of support for vigilantism have Koch and other officials helped create over the years?

Political leaders cannot eradicate violence any more than they can stop crime. But they can encourage communal development over divisive competition; they can locate the causes of social problems in the social structure rather than in individual pathology or ethnic culture; they can assert humane and equitable values over appeals to cultish strictures. The rewards of compassion will prove greater than those of revenge.

THE FLICK AFFAIR AND WEST GERMANY
Norman Birnbaum

THE NEW POPULISM
Harry C. Boyte

AUSTRIA'S QUIET REVOLUTION
Sidney Lens

DWIGHT MACDONALD: UNORTHODOX RADICAL
Casey Blake

THE ART OF GRAFFITI
Arthur C. Danto

A SURVEY

WHAT WILL COME OF THE GENEVA TALKS?

DAVID CORN

The talks in Geneva this week between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko will not, in themselves, bring arms control in our time. Despite President Reagan's promise that nuclear weapons reductions are his "number one priority," the official line from the White House on the eve of the talks was the modest hope that they would lead to further bargaining.

Clearly, Shultz and Gromyko are not in Switzerland to talk about arms control. They are there to talk about talking about arms control. They will see if they can agree on what to negotiate about and how best to proceed. Nevertheless, the Geneva colloquy is more than a media event. It is an attempt to resume the dialogue that was broken off when the Soviet representatives walked out of the intermediate-range nuclear forces (I.N.F.) and strategic arms reduction (START) talks in 1983 to protest the U.S. deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe. If nothing comes of it, Ronald Reagan will be the first President since Harry Truman who did not negotiate some sort of nuclear weapons agreement with the Russians.

What will follow the Shultz-Gromyko face-off? *The Nation* asked a number of leading figures involved with arms control and disarmament efforts whether they were optimistic or pessimistic about the upcoming encounter and the negotiations that might follow.

Most of those who responded expressed little faith in Reagan's self-proclaimed commitment to arms control. Peace activists who are skeptical of arms control, as opposed to disarma-

(Continued on page 16)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

DISSENT OR COUNTERREVOLUTION?

New York City

George Black's colleagues at the North American Congress on Latin America must be so upset that he criticized the policies of the hard-line Sandinista *comandantes* in the pages of *The New York Times*, and that I then quoted him accurately, that Black has taken the unusual path of repudiating the analysis he presented in that Op-Ed piece ["Letters," Dec. 8].

He now asserts that Arturo José Cruz was to blame for the ruptured negotiations, not Bayardo Arce, and that the Socialist International had put the squeeze on Cruz and not on the Sandinistas. But no amount of fulminating about my supposed "cold-war-liberal fantasies" can change facts: as James Chace, one of the most intelligent critics of the Reagan Administration, reported in the November 25 *New York Times Magazine*, the Sandinistas "refused to extend the deadline for registration . . . despite pleas from Western European and Latin American Socialist leaders on the scene"; and the breakdown of negotiations occurred "precisely because the Sandinista hard-liners did not want to risk the possibility of a large pro-Cruz vote."

I ended my own letter to *The Nation* expressing concern that the Nicaraguan revolution be allowed some breathing space, which I suggested would be more likely to exist if the Sandinistas pursued a moderate democratization. To suggest that I was serving to prepare "U.S. liberal opinion for an invasion" is simply outrageous. I hope Black will learn that to criticize the direction taken by the Nicaraguan revolution is a separate question from that of U.S. foreign policy, and that one can condemn Reagan interventionism at the same time. It appears that Black himself, like the dogmatic *comandantes* he once criticized, now confuses dissent with counterrevolution.

Ronald Radosh

BREATHING SPACE FOR NICARAGUA

Berkeley, Calif.

If the level of debate in this country about the nature of Nicaraguan internal politics does not quickly rise above that of the polemics found in the recent "Exchange" between Ronald Radosh and Mark Cook and in the letter from George Black [Dec. 1 and Dec. 8, respectively], then the Nicaraguan people will be unable to expect the growth of a broad-based and effective anti-intervention movement, which they need. Only a detailed and open discussion of all the issues can assist in the development of such a movement. Let me suggest a few points I believe can open the door to discussion.

If Radosh believes that Nicaragua is closing in on totalitarianism, as one is led to believe by his open support for that C.I.A./Somocista fig leaf known as Arturo José Cruz, how does he explain that the opposition parties won some thirty-five seats in the November 4 elections (out of ninety-six available), despite steady harassment from Sandinista supporters? What does he make of the postelection statement from Cruz that Reagan's pressure on Nicaragua will only make things worse? Could it be that Cruz now recognizes that the political leadership of a sovereign nation is best established by open acceptance of that nation's elections, rather than by the authority of the World Bank or the Pentagon?

Cook speaks of a split within the conservative movement in opposition to the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Black has written of divisions within the highest leadership of the front. Why do they ignore the most important divisions on the Nicaraguan political scene: the existence of democratic dissent and discussion among the Nicaraguan people? While Radosh and others, like Robert Leiken writing in *The New Republic*, make the mistake of seeing a second Cuba in Central America, Black and Cook also err in thinking that the F.S.L.N. will be able to establish itself as swiftly as the Robin Hood-like victory of Fidel Castro. That is not the history of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The best evidence of the ongoing popular debate is the continued existence of groups like the Christian base communities, some of which support the independent paper *Tayacan*, which has openly and strongly criticized the bureaucratic tendencies of the F.S.L.N. The thorough and independent reporting of the Jesuit-led Instituto Historico Centro Americano is another such center of critical support of the Nicaraguan "process," as it is called. Within the labor movement, debate about its organization and rights is vigorous. And despite F.S.L.N. opposition to strikes, which were outlawed until the elections, they continue to occur. The strikes have not been led by the opposition A.F.L.-C.I.O. union or the Social Christian Labor Federation, whose open support of the *contras* combined with pressure from the F.S.L.N. has led to their almost total marginalization. Major strikes have been called by rank-and-file members of the Sandinista-controlled unions. . . .

These healthy tensions among the Nicaraguans themselves are the guarantee of the democratic future of the country. These are the developments that need the breathing space that can come about only with a change in American policy toward the region. Unfortunately, that change of policy is seriously hindered by the continued support of the armed violence of the *contras* advocated by writers such as Radosh and Leiken and, even more important, by the leadership of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Stephen F. Diamond

NO POLITICAL WASTELAND

Washington

In his excellent article on the fabrication of political ideology by those who control our means of intellectual production, Todd Gitlin refers to a "Georgetown University circuit" ["How the Center Shifted Right," Nov. 24]. He intimates that this circuit is constituted of experts of certified conventionality (if not servility), of a political disposition supplying a higher (or lower) apologetics to the present Administration. In its several academic parts, Georgetown, alas, does have people like that. . . . However, the university can claim a good deal of pluralism. There are, to be sure, any number of good scholars who do not rush to publish in *The Nation*, since they do not share sympathies with us.

In all those respects, is it so different from other universities? Gitlin surely has Berkeley colleagues whose writings he reads with less than full piety. And when president Derek Bok of Harvard University decided a while ago that the crisis of Western civilization was so grave that his university was required to say something about it, we were favored with a volume titled *Living With Nuclear Weapons*. Imagine Harvard publishing, after the Dred Scott decision, a volume titled *Living With Slavery*. That much said, Georgetown isn't a political or spiritual wasteland. My colleagues include Barry Carter and Madeleine Albright, who traveled with the Mondale-Ferraro campaign; Robert Hunter, who was Edward Kennedy's foreign-policy adviser; Robert Lieber, Angela Stent and other strong critics of bureaucratic stupidity. Then there are the formidable political theologians—long since excommunicated by *Commentary*: the Revs. Brian Hehir, Robert Drinan, S.J. and Francis Winters. Finally, Georgetown's president, the Rev. Timothy Healy, S.J., is a strenuous critic of the New Right on nuclear arms, Latin America and foreign policy generally. Compare his public pronouncements with those of the faceless managers of other institutions. Georgetown's circuit still has positive moral energies.

Norman Birnbaum

GITLIN REPLIES

Berkeley, Calif.

I intended no guilt by association for Georgetown University's excellent souls, least of all for Norman Birnbaum, whose irreverent commentary on West German politics I have been happy to hear on National Public Radio. And I share his strictures on Harvard University and its official counsel of "moderation" on the livable bomb. About Georgetown I meant only to say that a number of its foreign-policy experts, whose apologetics are pronounced, have a disproportionate exposure these days.

Todd Gitlin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

0035796

CONTENTS.

Volume 240, Number 1

LETTERS
2

EDITORIALS
1 Mean-Streak Culture
3 The Long War
4 Broken Promise — *Michael S. Balter*
5 No First Use — *Jerome Grossman*
5 Canadian Buy-out — *Richard Caplan*

COLUMNS
6 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
8 Uncivil Liberties — *Calvin Trillin*

ARTICLES
1 A Survey: What Will Come of The Geneva Talks? — *David Corn*
I.F. Stone, Jane Gruenebaum, Randall Forsberg Ronald V. Dellums, Bernard T. Feld, Erwin Knoll, Harold Willens Gordon Adams, Adam Hochschild
9 West Germany's Flick Affair: Herr Kohl Meets His Watergate — *Norman Birnbaum*
12 The New Populism: The Politics of Community — *Harry C. Boyte*
15 "Social Partnership": Austria's Quiet Revolution Works — *Sidney Lens*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
21 Witfield: A Critical American: The Politics of Dwight Macdonald — *Casey Blake*
24 Art — *Arthur C. Danto*
27 Dance — *Mindy Aloff*

Drawings by Bill Charmatz

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Micah L. Sifry; *Interns,* Susan Riley Brown, Richard Caplan, Elena Ferretti, Bram E. Gunther, Rob Huesca, Benjamin Spier, Carmela Vetri. *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Mark Rausher; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days, foreign) of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305.

EDITORIALS.

The Long War

America's war in Indochina ended almost ten years ago, as frightened diplomats and weary soldiers escaped in their helicopters hours before revolutionary armies entered the various capitals of the peninsular states. But for many of the peoples of the region, the long war is still raging. China began pressing Vietnam from the north almost as soon as the Americans retreated from the south. In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge triumph became a monstrous caricature of revolution, which destroyed still uncounted millions in a reign of terror. The Vietnamese, fearful of the threat posed by the neighboring holocaust, invaded to stop the killing and restore some semblance of civilized government to the devastated country.

There is order now. The killing fields have been cleared, mass starvation has ended and the memory of terror is slowly dimming. But the war continues. The Vietnamese are, after all, invaders and historical enemies of the ethnically distinct Cambodians. No matter how beneficial their initial mission, the Vietnamese are unwelcome strangers in the Cambodian countryside, and their client government in Phnom Penh cannot command a national consensus. Several groups of armed rebels—widely disparate in terms of their ideology, international backing and constituencies—continue to fight the government and the Vietnamese from bases along the Thai border, and it was against the biggest

Johnson City, Tennessee JAN 11 1985

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of those camps that the Vietnamese launched the latest of their annual dry-season offensives.

The complexity of Cambodian politics and the necessity of the Vietnamese rescue mission do not negate the anguish of a country still struggling to carve out its own destiny. But sympathy for Cambodia should not obscure the responsibility of the United States for the disasters in Indochina. The current film *The Killing Fields* and William Shawcross's earlier, important study of U.S. policy there, *Sideshow*, make clear that the reckless bombing and brutal war America waged against Cambodia so disrupted its history and rent its social fabric that catastrophe was inevitable. Afterward, when regional stability and national security could have led to a reasonable recovery, successive U.S. Administrations worked for exactly the opposite purpose.

Henry Kissinger's "China card," played vigorously by George Bush when he was the American envoy to Beijing, is now a permanent stratagem in President Reagan's Far East policy, and he uses it specifically against Vietnam. The Washington-Beijing alliance lets China supply the Cambodian guerrillas with hardware while the United States funds both the political and military activities of the rebel camps. The U.S. refusal to normalize relations with Vietnam and to give Hanoi the aid promised in the peace agreements, as well as Washington's continued support for the remnants of Pol Pot's murderous regime, make Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia unlikely.

In fact, despite President Reagan's ritual condemnations of Vietnamese operations in Cambodia, U.S. policy effectively prolongs the occupation. Once again, the key to peace in Indochina is to be found in Washington. Ten years ago, it was the decision of the United States to leave Vietnam that led to the cessation of hostilities. Now, a decision in the White House to remove the pressures on Vietnam from all sides could bring peace to a ravaged land.

Broken Promise

Former Alabama Senator Lister Hill is probably best remembered for his strong opposition to civil rights laws in the 1960s. Thus his death, on December 20, may not have brought tears to the eyes of progressives in this country, even though Alabama Governor George Wallace called him "one of the greatest men who ever sat in the U.S. Senate."

Hill retired in 1968 after thirty years in the Senate, and in an interview several years later he maintained that he had been a progressive all along. In at least one area the description was absolutely correct: while he was no friend of his black constituents in particular and civil rights in general, Hill championed legislation to extend health care to the poor and the elderly regardless of race. He sponsored or cosponsored more than sixty health care bills.

Yet today, health rights activists are still battling for enforcement of provisions in one of Hill's most important pieces of legislation—the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act of 1946. Designed to alleviate the postwar shortage of hospitals, especially in impoverished areas, the act provides grants for construction of new facilities and expansion of existing ones. In return, the hospitals that receive Federal funds agree to serve all the people of the surrounding community and to provide a measure of free care to poor patients. Since 1946 the act has provided upward of $4 billion in grants and has underwritten more than 7,000 hospital projects.

Despite its good intentions, however, the Hill-Burton program has been a giant giveaway to private hospitals, which have received 60 percent of the grants. For the first twenty-five years after the act's passage, the government did nothing to insure that recipient hospitals were meeting their obligations to provide community service and free health care. Most Hill-Burton recipient hospitals turned away patients who could not pay, who did not have a private physician or who were on Medicaid. Critically ill patients were even refused admission to emergency rooms.

When, in the early 1970s, health rights activists filed lawsuits against recalcitrant hospitals, U.S. attorneys sided with the health industry, arguing that the courts had no jurisdiction to enforce the community service provisions. The courts rejected that position, however, and after a series of adverse decisions the government was forced to issue a new set of regulations spelling out the hospitals' obligations in detail. Those rules were adopted in 1979, and last summer they survived a court challenge by the American Hospital Association when the Supreme Court declined to review lower court rulings upholding them.

Nevertheless, the government is dragging its feet on enforcement. An April 1982 Government Accounting Office investigation disclosed that among hundreds of other deficiencies, over the preceding two years only seventeen of 690 complaints pending against hospitals had been resolved by the Department of Health and Human Services, the agency responsible for insuring compliance. "Health and Human Services is guilty of repeated wholesale neglect," says Armin Freifeld, a staff attorney with the National Health Law Program. "There is a very definite connection between ineffective enforcement and facility noncompliance. I think they are acting in a grossly negligent manner."

As Freifeld points out, where health rights activists have monitored local hospitals, the government has been forced to act. A few months ago, after an investigation by Legal Services Corporation workers, H.H.S. disallowed an improper $11 million write-off by a Minnesota hospital against its Hill-Burton free-care obligation. In another case, a Nebraska nursing home was forced to stop setting quotas on the number of Medicaid patients it would admit. Even these scattered victories have prompted some forces in Congress to consider rewriting the Hill-Burton law to weaken its provisions, and H.H.S. is conducting a study of possible changes in the regulations to that end. Thus Senator Hill's most noteworthy piece of legislation may not long survive his death.

MICHAEL S. BALTER

Michael S. Balter is a journalist based in Los Angeles and a former editor with the U.C.L.A. medical school.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No First Use

As we enter the new year, we see that the most likely area of military conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is Europe. There, hostile NATO and Warsaw Pact countries face each other armed to the teeth with conventional and nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union has declared it will not use nuclear weapons first in the event of a war with the United States, though it has asserted its right to respond to a nuclear attack in kind. China has made a similar commitment, but neither the United States nor its NATO allies have done so.

The Soviet Union has, however, developed new plans and weapons for engaging in both nuclear and nonnuclear warfare—as, of course, has the United States. Many new small tactical nuclear warheads for artillery, short-range missiles, tactical bombers and cruise missiles are deployed on both sides of the border between the two blocs. The great variety of weapons available makes war seem more controllable and less catastrophic. Thus the resort to force in an international crisis has become more tempting.

This dangerous situation must not continue. The time has come to explore the usefulness of the no-first-use doctrine in preventing a nuclear war. Such a policy could arrest the drift toward nuclear war if East and West would take these five steps:

§ First, issue a no-first-use declaration. Such an expression would help reduce tensions between the blocs and pave the way toward serious negotiations in other areas.

§ Second, change military doctrine so that it no longer prescribes the early use of nuclear weapons if a conventional war breaks out.

§ Third, change the training of military commanders in the field so that they will not rely on early use of nuclear weapons.

§ Fourth, move tactical nuclear weapons out of potential areas of conflict so that they will be less accessible to immediate use by design or accident.

§ Fifth, thin out conventional armies in Eastern and Western Europe to the point where neither side can amass a sufficient force to invade the other. This nonnuclear force reduction would prevent direct confrontations and eliminate the need to resort to nuclear weapons to repel an invasion.

A no-first-use policy would be relatively easy to negotiate. Neither side would have to give up critical military capacity. The changes would be symmetrical. The smaller forces remaining to each side would be sufficient to maintain internal security. This last point should be particularly attractive to the Soviet Union, with its relatively unstable Eastern European clients. Verification of troop movements would be guaranteed by satellites and sensors already in place. The possibility of a surprise ground attack would be eliminated. In case of an invasion by one side, there would be sufficient time for the other to move up the reinforcements, both nuclear and nonnuclear.

Finally, such a move would be a concrete demonstration that the superpowers are serious about avoiding the nonnuclear hostilities that could lead to nuclear war.

JEROME GROSSMAN

Jerome Grossman is president of the Council for a Livable World.

Canadian Buy-out

Our neighbor to the north has long been the prey of U.S. capital and culture. Now Canada's "silent surrender," as it has been called, may become official policy.

Recently the newly elected Conservative Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, introduced legislation that would abolish the country's Foreign Investment Review Agency and replace it with Investment Canada. Created in 1974 amid alarming reports of extensive foreign—especially U.S.—penetration of the economy, FIRA sought to keep Canadian business in Canadian hands.

FIRA had its critics, but most of them accused the agency of timidity rather than excessive zeal. During its ten-year history, FIRA approved 92 percent of all foreign applications for investment.

Now even this porous barrier has fallen, much to the delight of Reagan Inc. "We are saying to Canadians and the world that we want to encourage as much investment as possible," Sinclair Stevens, a member of Parliament, declared recently in a speech defending Investment Canada. But with 26 percent of its economy already controlled by foreign capital—three-fourths of that U.S.—Canada is coming to resemble those Third World countries where foreign investment leeches resources and leaves a token in exchange.

The legislation comes as Canada is agog with the revelation that at least ten publications affiliated with its universities, among them *The McGill Magazine* and Queen's University's *Libertas*, have been receiving funds and editorial guidance from the Institute for Educational Affairs, the neoconservative New York City-based foundation conceived by Irving Kristol and William Simon in 1978. Recent articles in those journals have attacked the European peace movement, warned of the Soviet menace and, predictably, called for more U.S. investment in Canada. The magazines could offer themselves as shining examples of what these dollars can buy.

Taken together with Canada's participation in the testing of cruise missiles and Mulroney's tacit approval of Reagan's Star Wars program, these developments bring to mind that favorite topic of Canadian debating societies: Should Canada be admitted as the fifty-first state of the Union? Now we have the answer: Why bother?

RICHARD CAPLAN

Richard Caplan has just completed an editorial internship at The Nation.

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Give Me Your Plaintiffs

If Ariel Sharon can have his day in court, the same hospitality should be offered other foreign public figures. The Sandinista directorate in general and Tomás Borge in particular have been accused in the *Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* of conspiring to smuggle cocaine into the United States. Similar accusations have been leveled against Fidel Castro and his government in *The Miami Herald*'s Sunday magazine. These are serious charges which, if matters ever take a turn for the worse for the principals involved, would seriously affect their chances of setting up business in the United States or of obtaining an American Express card. All "proof" of the drug smuggling has come from the uncorroborated testimony of defendants charged with similar offenses, seeking to plea-bargain within the U.S. court system. Both Castro and the Sandinistas have a good case, and I look forward to their appearance in the Federal courthouse downtown without delay.

Sharon the Swine

It seems barely credible, but Sharon has so far emerged from his legal battle with *Time* with reputation enhanced. This is quite an achievement for one of the vilest men in the world today, a thug so drenched in blood that he makes Roberto d'Aubuisson look like Aryeh Neier. Remember, we speak here of the veteran of Unit 101, of Qibya, of Kafr Kassem; of the "pacifier" of Gaza between 1969 and 1972; of a man for whose resignation, in the wake of the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre, even the Kahan Commission called.

Can people have forgotten for what Sharon as Israeli Defense Minister had overall responsibility? It was well known that the Phalangists would perpetrate massacres if allowed into the camps, but Sharon's forces organized their entry. It was well known that the camps were undefended and that the supposed presence of 2,000 terrorists was a myth. Within hours of the Phalangists' entry into the camps on Thursday evening, those in the Israeli command post within eyeshot and earshot knew that the massacre was going on. Phalangist and Israeli officers, intelligence and liaison personnel were at this command post. The Israeli Defense Force provided flares throughout Thursday night to facilitate the slaughter, and then on Friday, when the massacre was even more widely known, sent the Phalangists back in with a bulldozer to push bodies into a grave that could be seen from the command post. Sharon's chief of staff, Rafael Eytan, authorized use of the I.D.F. bulldozer, commending the Phalangists for their "good work." Thirty-six hours after the Phalange murderers had gone in, the I.D.F., for which Sharon was responsible, was claiming that it knew nothing of the massacre.

Why had the Phalange been allowed in? On September 19, 1982, David Shipler reported in *The New York Times* that as early as mid-June,

> Israeli officials were speaking privately of a plan, being considered by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, to allow the Phalangists to go into west Beirut and the camps against the Palestine Liberation Organization. The calculation was that the Phalangists, with old scores to settle and detailed information on the Palestinian fighters, would be more ruthless than the Israelis and probably more effective.

Analyzing the Kahan Commission report, Israeli journalist and politician Uri Avneri concluded, along with other Israeli journalists, that the I.D.F. had let the Phalange in to perpetrate a massacre and thus cause a panic flight of Palestinians from Lebanon.

One might have thought that Sharon would have preferred to let butchered corpses lie and steer clear of the U.S. courts. Not so. Worse still, articles such as one by Steven Brill in *The American Lawyer* now argue that *Time* should settle, since its correspondent David Halevy has been exposed as an incompetent, with a sedulous bias against Israel. As a matter of fact, *Time*'s reporting on Israel was at times marginally better than the squalid agitprop put out by almost all the U.S. media. The fact that Halevy may have erred on the contents of the secret annex to the Kahan Commission report in no way exonerates Sharon from the killings for which, as Defense Minister and initiator of Operation Peace for Galilee, he had overall responsibility—or permit him to claim that the magazine unfairly tarnished his reputation.

Part of the complaisant attitude scrutineers such as Brill have shown toward Sharon is caused by the fact that they find *Time*'s reporting and fact checking to have been less than exemplary. What else is new? Are we to suppose that *Time* has been *accurate* all these years? Let the record be clear. Since the day of its inception *Time* has been a bullyragging propaganda sheet, mashing together factoids and fantasy in the cause of the cold war, capitalism and the American way. Such was the role allotted it by Henry Luce and such is the role carried out today under the supervision of Henry Grunwald. Now an even greater bully, about whom it told the essential truth, is manipulating opinion with the same techniques. This is the great irony.

By resting its case and maybe trying to settle, *Time* has shirked the task of an aggressive defense against Sharon. There are plenty of witnesses available, but perhaps *Time* finds them discomfiting. Perhaps it feels that the truth about Sharon could not be told without excessive perturbation of U.S.-Israeli public relations. It is certainly true that *Time* and *Newsweek* are now so cowed that their reporting on the trial has been milquetoast, lest Sharon's lawyers issue further suits and subpoenas. Thus far, in sum, this bullying swine has successfully terrorized the U.S. media.

Interviewed recently in New York City by Myra MacPherson of *The Washington Post*, Sharon defended himself in injured tones on the matter of the Qibya slaughter in 1953, where his Unit 101 murdered more than seventy villagers, by saying, "I *implemented* an order that I got." Perhaps for the tyro killer Sharon the Nuremberg defense

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was available. But as Minister and general in the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 he was not following orders; he was giving them.

Footnote: For really stomach-turning self-congratulation, far outstripping the mad overkiller Nat Hentoff, try Bob Brewin on Dan Burt, lawyer for William Westmoreland in the CBS case, in *The Village Voice* for December 25. Brewin tries, with small success, to defend Burt from the legitimate charge that he is a flunky for big corporations and right-wing causes. Brewin has been zealous in kissing the asses of both Westmoreland and Burt throughout the trial thus far—perhaps because he is writing a book about the trial and wants to keep them as sources.

Fear and Loathing

There hasn't been anything like it since the proscriptions at the time of the Catiline conspiracy, in the first century B.C. At the start of John Hess's excellent piece about *The New York Times* in the age of Rosenthal, published in the winter issue of *Grand Street*, he writes: "Many grumble about *The Times* but few care to do so on record. One established journalist told me about this project, 'It's a piece I could not write. I have a book coming out.'" *Grand Street*'s onlie begetter, Ben Sonnenberg, tells me that when he first mooted the project with some potential authors, that is exactly what all of them said. They felt that to make disobliging remarks in public about A.M. Rosenthal and his repulsive claque required courage kindred to that of a fellow writing in 1938 a sharp critique in *Izvestia* of Stalin's political record. Only Hess displayed the necessary fortitude.

The fear of Rosenthal's vindictive temperament reaches so deep that many "established writers" feel that he will single them out as the author of the blind quote used by Hess. They should realize that in numbers lies safety. There are literally thousands of such writers who could have made this remark to Hess. Among them: Gloria Emerson, Roger Wilkins, John Leonard, Murray Kempton, Richard Severo, Harrison Salisbury, Seymour Hersh, Seymour Topping . . .

Hess has some good stuff on Rosenthal's chela, John Corry. Recounting *Kulturbumpf* as practiced by Corry, he says: "Objectivity took on new meaning. Corry denounced a balanced documentary on the Alger Hiss case on the ground that, since the courts had found Hiss guilty, any even-handed treatment must be *ipso facto* biased."

Oafisher, Stop That Man

As anyone who has followed his oafish rantings in *The New Republic* knows well, Morton Kondracke is a fit stablemate to Martin Peretz. Fresh proof, if such were needed, came in the issue of *T.N.R.* dated January 7-14. Kondracke was reviewing the Administration's policy toward dictatorships and came up with this amazing sentence: "The greatest hope of Administration officials is that Marcos will stay alive long enough to set up a stable democratic system, much as Francisco Franco did in Spain." Now people with even modest historical memories may recall that Franco's great hope was to hand over power to Adm. Carrero Blanco, whose hopes of elevation were realized in a more literal form than he might have wished when Basque E.T.A. separatists blew him and his car clear over a church in the center of Madrid. Democracy came to Spain despite Franco, not because of him.

Kondracke may claim (a task formerly reserved for *The New Republic*'s "liberal" bottle washer, Rick Hertzberg, who is now departing for Cambridge, with Michael Kinsley as his designated successor) that he was merely describing the views of the Administration, not expressing his own. But it is impossible to tell in his article where Jeane Kirkpatrick stops and Kondracke begins. Furthermore, it concludes with the deferential thought that "the Reagan rules may seem permissive toward right-wing scoundrels, but if they really lead toward restoration of democracy in Chile and the Philippines, why should anyone complain?" Just for a start, I should think such complainers might include relatives of those being murdered by Pinochet's guardsmen, Chileans suffering internal and external exile, along with Filipinos murdered, jailed and tortured by Marcos's security forces.

Did I Feel Dumb!

Say the word "filmscript" and a sucker will jump on your hook. See what happened to me. Right before Christmas, Derek Shearer called from Santa Monica. This is the same Shearer, a self-styled "economist," who helped engineer the Socialist Republic of Santa Monica and whose wife, Ruth Yannatta-Goldway, was for a season Mayor of that city. Usually Derek is fishing for gossip to pass along to his father, Lloyd, who holds the copyright of and writes "Walter Scott's Personality Parade" in *Parade*, but this time he said that a film producer was mad to get his hands on my book about chess. The book, published in 1974 under the title *Idle Passion: Chess and the Dance of Death*, addressed problems of psychology and the class basis of chess and is now widely unavailable.

I rushed to the post office and express mailed off to Derek one of my few remaining samples of the book. Then I went off to buy champagne and await the summons to the coast. Nothing happened, so a week later I called Derek to find out what had transpired. What was the film mogul saying? After much off-stage snickering with the ex-Mayor, Derek came back on the line and with a roguish chuckle confessed that there never had been a film producer. He'd made one up to get me over to the post office. The book was really intended for his brother-in-law Strobe Talbott, *Time*'s "expert" on arms control and described last fall by Walter Mondale as the most intelligent man in the history of the universe. Talbott is mad about chess and Shearer said that since I had once called the man a nitwit he doubted whether I would have been eager to rush him a copy of *Idle Passion*. Shearer is right. I will get my own back one day. Meanwhile take this as evidence that there is always someone eager to buy the Brooklyn Bridge.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

For the first few weeks that New York City had two highly publicized libel trials going on at the same time—*William Westmoreland v. CBS* and *Ariel Sharon v. Time Inc.*—I waited quietly for people to seek my counsel. I am, after all, the citizen litigator who only fourteen years ago forced a Bronx fuel-oil company to its knees: rather than go toe-to-toe against me in Small Claims Court, the fuel-oil moguls agreed to settle for a payment of $37.50, a mere half of the disputed bill. These things get around.

Also, I happen to have expert knowledge of all four sides. During my own military career, I was in the combat platoon that landed by helicopter on Governors Island, in New York Harbor, swept down the airfield and captured an incinerator from a detachment of computer clerks, as part of Armed Forces Day Open House in 1959. My knowledge of the technical details of filming television interviews is so extensive that I know the operative sentence of any such enterprise: "We're not getting any audio here, Harry." I was once employed by *Time*—I am remembered there as the writer who tried to get out of the Religion section by putting the word "alleged" in front of any historically questionable religious event—and although I have never visited Israel, I was the counselor who advised a Presbyterian acquaintance known for his capacity for chopped liver that he could demand Israeli citizenship on the ground that the intent of the Law of Return was clearly to admit any person who carried a schmaltz level of 0.5 parts per thousand in his bloodstream. In other words, I know my onions.

I was a bit surprised that the first person to seek my counsel about the trials was an old friend named Richie Levine, whose previous consultation with me had concerned what is called in the trade a matrimonial: Richie and his wife, Linda, had decided to split up because of irreconcilable differences over what sort of Passover seder to attend. After being dragged to a seder conducted by radical feminists who refused to recognize the killing of the Egyptians' first-born sons as a curse, Richie started spending his Passovers back in his hometown of Detroit, where as a child he had always gone to seders at the home of his Uncle Mo the Gonif. (Richie had two uncles named Mo—one of them a failed actor who lived off his relatives, and the other a prosperous businessman who had once been accused of embezzlement—and to keep them straight the family called them Uncle Mo the Schnorrer and Uncle Mo the Gonif.)

"I guess you want my reading on the Westmoreland trial," I said, knowing that Richie had nurtured an interest in military affairs ever since he learned that his Great-Uncle Zalman, who emigrated from Kharkov to Detroit, had deserted three different armies. I told Richie the secret of the Westmoreland trial: although Westmoreland's report on troop strength did indeed consist of whatever his superiors wanted to hear, that was nothing for CBS to get excited about because everyone in the Army reports whatever his superiors want to hear. That's the way the Army works. Any company clerk could have told Mike Wallace that, without being grilled. Nobody who has been in the Army for more than ten minutes would even consider believing anything he reads in a report. If he wants to know what's going on, he simply drops into headquarters and asks the first sergeant—as Lyndon Johnson was free to do.

I knew that even before I began my military career. At my physical examination, an Army sergeant holding a clipboard demanded "three physical marks or scars" from a frightened and patently unblemished farm boy who was standing next to me. "I'm awfully sorry, sir," the farm boy said, futilely examining his shoulder for so much as a freckle. "Three physical marks or scars," the sergeant kept saying. The farm boy thought for a moment; then he reported three physical marks or scars. Today he is probably a general.

Richie said that although he found all that interesting, he had come about the Sharon trial. His Uncle Mo the Schnorrer, after reading Sharon's accusations against *Time*, had decided that the people who had been calling him Uncle Mo the Schnorrer all these years had committed a blood libel on the Jewish people. He was suing Richie's parents and Richie's Uncle Sydney for $12 million.

"My mom tried to reason with him," Richie said. "She told him that a blood libel on the Jewish people would libel her and Pop and Uncle Sydney, since they were all Jewish people, so that meant they were libeling themselves."

"What'd he say to that?" I asked.

"He said, 'So sue,'" Richie replied.

A brilliant legal strategy occurred to me. "Divert him!" I said. "If what *Time* said about Sharon was a libel on the Jewish people, Uncle Mo the Schnorrer should sue Sharon for his share of the action."

"We thought of that," Richie said. "Uncle Mo the Schnorrer said he couldn't convince a jury that people would blame him for anything that happened during a military operation: he hardly ever leaves the house. What I was wondering was if you'd be a witness."

"You mean as an authority on libel law?"

"No," Richie said. "As someone who has an Uncle Mo."

It's true that our family has one Uncle Mo—called simply "Uncle Mo." Richie figured that if I testified to that, it would be obvious that his family calls his Uncle Mo the Schnorrer "Uncle Mo the Schnorrer" for identification purposes rather than for the purpose of libeling the Jewish people. We keep the direct examination narrow so we don't open up for cross the question of whether my Uncle Mo is both a schnorrer *and* a gonif. Not bad! I would have told Richie that he had the makings of a trial attorney himself, except that he already is a trial attorney.

"You can count on me, counselor," I said. "I suspect that hearing I'm involved in the case will force Uncle Mo the Schnorrer to his knees and he'll settle for half."

"That wouldn't be bad," Richie said. "Uncle Sydney says Uncle Mo the Schnorrer is schnorring nearly that much from him already."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

WEST GERMANY'S FLICK AFFAIR

Herr Kohl Meets His Watergate

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Washington last November confirmed my view that modern politics is indistinguishable from theater of the absurd. His press spokesman announced that the Chancellor and President Reagan had discussed the details of the forthcoming talks on arms negotiations between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Secretary of State George Shultz. Clearly, the announcement was designed to show doubting West Germans how influential their government is with its senior ally. It was followed, however, by a declaration from a "senior State Department official" that there had been no details to discuss, since the Administration hadn't formulated its positions for the talks. He was discreet enough not to mention that mastery of detail is not, after all, our President's strong point. In that regard, at least, trans-Atlantic solidarity is firm: the same may be said of Kohl. For the moment, however, Kohl has other and larger problems.

"I intend to fit out Herr Kohl exactly as we did the other gentlemen." With those words, the managing director of Friedrich-Karl Flick's multibillion-dollar industrial empire reported to his boss his plans for welcoming the new leader of the Christian Democratic Union following his selection in 1973. The manager, Eberhard von Brauchitsch, has since been dismissed by the firm, under indictment for bribing two former Ministers of Economics from the Free Democratic Party. The sums dispensed by Flick in the recent past are impressive. Fifteen million marks went to the Christian Democrats and their Bavarian ally, Franz-Josef Strauss's Christian Social Union. Six million marks went to the Free Democrats. Four million marks went to the Social Democrats. Much of this money was given in cash (a half-million to Kohl during his stint as opposition leader). The secret gifts violated laws requiring political parties to disclose the sources of their funding. All of it was provided with the explicit intention of influencing government and party policies, the composition of parliamentary committees—indeed, the entire public life of the Federal Republic. Flick may have induced the Free Democrats to abandon their coalition with the Social Democrats in 1982.

The public was shaken by the disclosures of the extent to which corruption in Bonn has become a routine affair. Defending himself before a parliamentary committee, Kohl said that everyone took money, even if it was illegal. He and his party have sought to depict their critics as agents of a plot to undermine the authority of the Federal Republic. This contemptible defense has evoked derision even among the many West German conservatives who always give authority the benefit of the doubt. The left, for its part, is astonished. Its crudest depictions of the role of capital in politics seem understatements. The Social Democrats are dreadfully embarrassed. At least two former S.P.D. ministers are under a cloud. West German democracy is undergoing a profound crisis of confidence, and until the Flick revelations and the ensuing prosecutions run their course, no end is in sight. The major parties have now agreed, apparently, to terminate the parliamentary inquiry. The S.P.D. is making a large mistake by identifying itself in this way with a system that cannot stand public scrutiny.

That these matters have come to light at all owes everything to the tenacity of a few Social Democratic backbenchers, to the honesty of a few prosecutors in the face of threats to their careers from higher-ups, and to the weekly *Der Spiegel*, which obtained the documents and published them in defiance of the government's cover-up. The affair isn't like Watergate, which brought down a politically strong President. The governing coalition of the Christian Democrats, the Christian Social Union and the Free Democrats was already in trouble and now may be seriously wounded. Kohl himself may or may not be indicted, but the possibility that he will have to step down in the spring is considerable. As a result, the coalition can no longer expect victory in the 1987 national elections. It has lost ground in recent municipal elections and may take a beating in

DRAWINGS BY BILL CHARMATZ

Norman Birnbaum, University Professor at Georgetown University Law Center, recently returned from a trip to West Germany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major state elections to be held in the spring.

When Kohl took office, and even more so when his coalition won the elections of 1983, U.S. foreign policy managers were delighted. Even before Ronald Reagan came to power, the ruling Social Democrats had begun to criticize American policy. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had agreed to the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles but was insensitive to Washington's desires. He wanted the United States to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union before deploying the weapons, whereas U.S. officials regarded the Geneva talks on limiting intermediate-range missiles as a public relations device. The Social Democrats believed in the necessity of coexistence with the Russians; Kohl depicted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as the one true church and reminisced about the food packages America sent to Germany when he was young. "He likes us," said Richard Allen, former national security adviser, when Kohl took office. (Allen would like to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Bonn; given the present climate there, he should fit in, provided he wears his Japanese watch when presenting his credentials.) "Germany returns to the reservation," declared *The Washington Post*. Now the reservation teems with tribal revolts and general unrest.

On taking office, Kohl promised a "moral and spiritual renewal," a phrase his supporters correctly understood to mean hosings and jail sentences for demonstrators and restricted access to television for the unholy hosts of anti-nuclear divines. He talked of restoring a spirit of entrepreneurial initiative and individual achievement. Fat was to be cut from the obese welfare state. As it turned out, people who voted for Kohl were too dependent on state-supplied social benefits for them to be cut very deeply. The politically powerless received the most savage treatment while grants to business were not touched. Plans to denationalize certain industries were dropped. There has been a slight improvement in productivity, but much of the new investment has gone into machines that put people out of work. The powerful unions are combative, and the blue-collar voters who deserted the Social Democrats in 1983 are ready to return to the fold. Meanwhile, stolid citizens who are shocked by the environmental degradation of the countryside (the legendary forests are disappearing fast because of acid rain) vote Green in droves. On this problem, too, Kohl equivocates.

The Chancellor has been unable to deal with the contradiction between the business interests in his coalition and those in that coalition who still adhere to the Christian social tradition, of which the Chancellor, though a Catholic, does not appear to have heard. He has had to endure a veto by his coalition partners of his own party's proposal for a more equitable tax system. The predicted return to the values of authority, order and the family remains rhetorical. West Germany has changed culturally. The young don't want homilies; they want jobs (exceedingly scarce these days) or university scholarships (eliminated by budget cuts). Women are restive. The gender gap in West Germany is wider than in America; more women than men vote for the Social Democrats and Greens. They, too, are impatient with praise of the family, especially when family allowances are being cut. As for moral order, the Flick scandal affords proof, if any were needed, that politicians are ill equipped to serve as secular priests.

Contradictions in the sphere of foreign policy are greater. Kohl has proceeded with the deployment of the American Euromissiles, and he presides uneasily over the inevitable result. The debate on the missile emplacement precipitated a discussion of West Germany's role in NATO and of the unification question. In everything he has touched, Kohl has squandered his predecessor's legacy. Schmidt at least appeared to be pursuing national interests. Kohl gives every indication of not knowing what they are. He has extended credits to East Germany, but relations between the two governments remain immobile. Erich Honecker, the East German leader, risked offending his Soviet protectors when he advanced the idea of a "community of responsibility" between the two German states to reduce the effects of superpower tensions. Kohl was unable to meet him half- or even a third of the way.

Supine under American pressure, he refused to support the tentative suggestion of Italian Premier Bettino Craxi, himself an American client, that the pace of missile deployment be slowed. He allowed members of his own party to sabotage Honecker's planned visit to the Federal Republic, despite the unprecedented intervention in the debate of West Germany's new President, Richard von Weizsaecker, who favored it. Relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union, which had become fairly close under Schmidt, have worsened appreciably. Kohl was stupid enough to address a meeting of Silesian refugees who seek the return of their homeland from Poland—in effect, endorsing their readiness to begin the third great war. The Soviet Union found it easy, as a consequence, to decry "West German revanchism." Kohl went to Moscow and spoke brave words about the unnaturalness of the division of Germany, but he was careful not to state the price the West Germans would be willing to pay for reunification.

Meanwhile, others in Western Europe are suspicious of the West Germans on two very different grounds. One is the fear of "pan-Germanism," voiced by Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, to the indignation of his fellow Christian Democrats north of the Alps. The other is the dislike of the Federal Republic's utter dependence on U.S. policy, evident most recently in the dispute with France over the Law of the Sea treaty. The French, who value Europe's ties to the Third World, wish to sign it; the United States has instructed Kohl not to do so. There is also growing sentiment on the Continent for more autonomy in NATO, for increased European collaboration on arms production, even for greater European military autonomy. In the long run, Kohl and his cohort are constrained by their interests in central Europe. Complete integration in Western Europe would require renunciation of their special relationship with East Germany, which is virtually impossible. So they talk like enthusiastic Europeans and behave like circumspect Germans. They are especially hesitant about taking initiatives that might irritate the United States, which talks of partnership

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but wants obedience. Kohl, then, has had the worst of both worlds—arousing suspicions among other Europeans about the German penchant for independent initiatives but returning the Federal Republic, if only temporarily, to abject political dependence on the United States. He has no credibility in the Soviet bloc and not much in Western Europe. In Washington, he is taken for granted.

Kohl is eager to enlist America in the right's efforts to show, as the anniversary of the Nazi surrender of May 8, 1945, approaches, that his nation's major error in the years 1933-45 was premature anti-Sovietism. The right has even had the effrontery to denounce the Greens as Nazis. They have been joined by some in this country who lack self-respect in their choice of political allies. A startling aspect of trans-Atlantic ideological alliances is the convergence of *Commentary*'s editors and writers with ex-Nazis.

Kohl's bumbling amiability has turned into harassed irritability. He has failed to maintain discipline in his Cabinet or unity in his coalition. From his Bavarian redoubt, Strauss, pursuing his own ambitions, has mounted an unceasing guerrilla campaign against him. Kohl's ineptitude has magnified troubles the right had coming to it.

The fact is, the decline of the coalition is due to its own weaknesses rather than to the strength of the opposition. The Social Democrats have not solved the problem that dogs every reformist party in the West: How do you move beyond the welfare state, with its assumption of steady capitalist growth, in an epoch in which all economic assumptions have been changed? The unions failed in their initial effort to win a thirty-five-hour workweek, but a number of economic and social measures once thought utopian are surfacing again.

The Social Democrats are on surer ground in the international (and national) sphere. They are determined to continue the course they charted in the last election under the slogan "In the German Interest." That this means a modification of West Germany's role in NATO is clear. The Social Democrats insist that America's interests (or those defined by our imperial managers) and those of Europe and West Germany diverge. The divergences can be contained only if larger goals are held in common, but they doubt that the Reaganites are serious about any sort of coexistence with the Russians. A return to office by the Social Democrats, then, would cause the U.S. national security establishment (including many Democrats) severe anxiety.

A new generation of promising S.P.D. leaders is coming into its own—Oskar Lafontaine in the Saarland, Gerhard Schroeder in Lower Saxony, Volker Hauff in Frankfurt, Andreas von Bülow and five or six men and women in the Bundestag. They still have a way to go, and the party's 1987 candidate for chancellor is likely to be someone from the middle generation—the governor of North Rhein-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, or the present parliamentary leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel. There is a remote chance for the ascendance of the party's major philosopher, Erhard Eppler, former president of the National Assembly of the Protestant Church, but his emergence would require a political earthquake, whose initial tremors have not yet registered.

"A magnificent job of integrating the public myth with the intimate life."
—ALDEN WHITMAN, *Chicago Tribune*

"An intimate portrait drawn with clarity, delicacy, and honesty." —RICHARD DRINNON, author of *Rebel in Paradise*

"A richly detailed, psychologically perceptive study." —KAREN ROSENBERG, *The Women's Review of Books*

Photo: Irwin Horowitz

EMMA GOLDMAN
An Intimate Life by Alice Wexler
Illustrated with photographs. Now at your bookstore.
PANTHEON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Greens are doing splendidly. In recent elections they increased their share of the vote to an average of nearly 9 percent nationwide (in the 1983 parliamentary elections they averaged 5.5 percent). The polls show that if elections were held in West Berlin tomorrow, they would win an astonishing 14 percent. The Social Democrats' candidate for mayor is former Defense Minister Hans Apel, and many Social Democrats who did not like his endorsement of the missiles will vote for the Greens. The Greens continue to argue among themselves, but their program, which combines environmentalism, antinuclearism, neutralism, equality for women and decentralization, has a strong appeal. They profit from what they are not: they are more a movement than a party. For now, the Greens have forced the Social Democrats and the unions to rethink their ideas. Most important, they have displaced the Free Democrats as the third-largest party. The Free Democrats face extinction if they do not surmount the 5 percent barrier in the 1987 elections, so the Greens may well hold the balance of parliamentary power.

The road to coalition, however, is not smooth. At their party congress in Hamburg in December, the Greens were divided between fundamentalists and realists. The fundamentalists argued that they should continue resolutely in total opposition. The realists held that they should be prepared to form a coalition with the Social Democrats, or at least to give parliamentary backing to a minority S.P.D. government. The decision was postponed at the national level; regionally and locally, Green groups are free to act as they see fit. In Hesse, meanwhile, an S.P.D./Green majority has disintegrated because of a revolt by the Green base against their parliamentarians.

By 1987, Kohl may have been deposed. His likely successor is the very able Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, who began his career as an academic historian and is a conservative whose views are close to those of President von Weizsaecker: that is, he thinks parliamentary democracy is the country's best guarantee of internal stability. He also rejects the idea that West Germany is an American province. Stoltenberg might be a coalition partner for the Social Democrats if there is a deadlock after the 1987 elections. Some Reagan Administration officials distrust his independence (they have identical reservations about von Weizsaecker). Their candidate for the chancellorship is the governor of Baden-Württemberg, Lothar Späth, of whom we may accordingly expect to hear more in the U.S. press.

Should the West Germans strike out on their own in the near future, we cannot expect our national security apparatus to react with historical comprehension and resignation. I predict a revival of "left-wing" terrorism by the right, acting in concert with U.S. agencies, coinciding with the imminence of a Green–Social Democratic majority or a Christian Democratic–Social Democratic coalition that distances itself from American policy. I advise von Weizsaecker to read the biography of Aldo Moro, the Italian Christian Democratic leader murdered in still mysterious circumstances after attempting to take Italian politics in a new direction. □

THE NEW POPULISM

The Politics of Community

HARRY C. BOYTE

With the triumph of Reaganism and the collapse of liberalism in the recent Presidential election, a moral void entered American political life. It is being filled by the savage individualism of the right, masked by nostalgic invocations of community and calls for a return to traditional values. But in that same election the stirrings of an alternative approach were discernible in many local elections. It can be called the new populism because it takes from older movements the idea that power should be returned to the people. A number of Democrats who ran on populist-style programs successfully appealed to some of Ronald Reagan's conservative constituencies.

In the House of Representatives those Democrats, who include Byron Dorgan of North Dakota, James Weaver of Oregon and Robert E. Wise Jr. of West Virginia, have organized a Populist Caucus. In the Senate there are three populist freshmen—Tom Harkin of Iowa, Paul Simon of Illinois and Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee. As Michael Calabrese, Simon's research director, pointed out shortly after the election, "By espousing a sort of neopopulism that attracted the votes of the traditional Democrats who defected in large numbers in the Presidential balloting, [the new populists] proved that the Democratic Party need not abandon progressive policies to build a new governing coalition."

Populism is a term fraught with ambiguity. It is used these days to label everything from Jesse Jackson's campaign to Treasury Secretary Donald Regan's tax plan. But the left's customary blanket avoidance of the subject amounts to a politics of self-destruction. A closer look at the themes and spirit of the new populism is a matter of practical politics. But its implications are far more wide-ranging, suggesting not only the need for a different, more folksy vocabulary but for some fundamental rethinking as well.

Populism is more than a rhetorical pose or specific programmatic agenda; it grows from the living fabric of communities seeking to control the forces that threaten to overwhelm them. While populism raises issues, challenges unresponsive elites and seeks changes in structures, it is ultimately about values and cultural meanings. Rather than drawing its base from large organizations like national unions or reform groups, in which people are often cut off from their family roots and communal ties, populist politics finds its power and vision in the institutions integral to social life: churches, synagogues, neighborhood associa-

Harry C. Boyte is the author of Community Is Possible: Repairing America's Roots *(Harper & Row) and is active in Committees of Correspondence.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, union locals, civic and ethnic groups, Parent-Teacher Associations, farm organizations and the like.

Indeed, modern American capitalism, with its mass culture, flow of capital across regional and national boundaries, enormous bureaucracies and economic upheavals, assaults all forms of historical identity. The resulting dislocation of values, cultural memories and ties to place has fostered a populist mood, but it also makes the definition and outcome of populism more ambiguous and uncertain.

Ironically, Ronald Reagan has proved himself to be far more rhetorically adroit in evoking populist themes than have most Democrats. He claims to believe that "a renaissance of the American community, a rebirth of the neighborhood, is the heart and soul of rebuilding America." Indeed, as William Schambra, a conservative political theorist at the American Enterprise Institute, argued last December (expressing concern that Democrats might "catch on"), there is strong evidence that Reagan's appeals to particular groups and his use of the theme of community renewal have been the major factors in his popularity. In contrast with both traditional liberalism's emphasis on big government as the embodiment of a "great national community" and traditional conservatism's focus on the enterprising individual, said Schambra, "the election of 1980 brought to office the first President in the last fifty years who spoke not of the great national community but of the sort of community to be found in family, church, neighborhood and voluntary association."

But Reagan's use of those themes provides an opportunity for a populist challenge. Contrary to its rhetoric, the Reagan Administration sees each community as isolated and in competition with every other one. It has tried to eliminate programs that have proved useful in community self-help and revitalization (as the Catholic bishops documented, in considerable detail, in an earlier study of the impact of Reagan budget cuts). It counsels those in areas of economic distress to move elsewhere. And it attacks the idea that government is the instrument of communities that have joined together to advance their common interests and concerns.

A vision of commonwealth runs through the programs of nineteenth- and twentieth-century popular democratic movements, one which holds in tension the relationship between particular communities and the whole. A considerable body of historical studies suggests that populism nourishes a more democratic, inclusive and generous sensibility. In the past, populist movements have given rise to what historian Lawrence Goodwyn called "a new way of looking at things . . . individual self-respect and collective self-confidence." Their active, participatory style has provided a schooling in the skills and values of citizenship. The greatest accomplishment of the civil rights movement, according to Martin Luther King Jr., was the "new sense of dignity and destiny" that ordinary people gained from their involvement.

Moreover, the resurfacing of populist politics is not accidental. It has its origin in the tens of thousands of community and citizen organizations, environmental and peace groups, women's self-help projects, rural protest movements and the like that have formed in recent years, first around issues close to home and then in connection with other communities, regions, ethnic and racial groups. Indeed, as John Herbers pointed out last year in *The New York Times Magazine*, though the most visible grass-roots activism has been on the right, the scale and impact of such leftist organizing efforts, "both actual and potential, may be greater." On local and state levels, community groups are widely credited with the victories of "new populist" politicians: for example, in Texas, Communities Organized for Public Service was instrumental in the elections of San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros and Secretary of Agriculture Jim Hightower. Nationwide, Citizen Action—a confederation of state coalitions, with a staff of more than 2,500 and millions of members—played a central, perhaps determinative, role in five victorious Senate races and about fifty House campaigns.

Such grass-roots groups are the building blocks of a national political movement. If that movement is to develop a vision, vocabulary and political momentum, several elements are essential: an equating of populist politics with civic involvement; a conception of government as an instrument of and by the people, not merely *for* them; a vision of economic life grounded in values of ecological balance, justice, equity and human scale; an awareness of the moral interdependence of all nations and peoples; and, finally, an penness to new forms of political organization.

§ *Civic participation.* In the earliest expressions of American democratic philosophy, civic involvement was regarded as the foundation of a free society—indeed, as the only way in which active public life, personal and communal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

responsibility and the broader commonwealth could be renewed and sustained. Thomas Jefferson thought that the Iroquois' primary reliance on the moral force of community opinion rather than laws to control social problems furnished the model of democratic self-government. "What country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance?" he wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Citizen activism of recent years renews this venerable philosophy and enriches it. The most successful examples of community revitalization combine issue-oriented activism with cultural celebrations, history projects, value discussions and the like. And in the 1980s, democratic activism promotes pluralism, diversity, expanded roles for women and others who have been excluded from full participation, and new definitions of "community" and "leadership." Indeed, many of the most prominent female politicians today, including Representatives Barbara Mikulski and Geraldine Ferraro, got their start in community organizations that sprang up in the 1960s and 1970s.

§ *Government of the people.* "The resorption of government by the citizens of a democratic community," Lewis Mumford wrote, "is the only safeguard against those bureaucratic interventions that tend to arise in every state." Populist politics has always expressed the belief that government is neither the problem, as conventional conservatism has it, nor the solution, as liberalism tends to view it. Local initiatives across the country in recent years have revived the idea that government should provide the necessary tools and resources so that particular communities can revitalize themselves and become self-reliant. In this view, government does not seek to regulate and impose uniformity; it recognizes the diversity of American communities—from street corners in the Bronx to Hawaiian pineapple farms—as perhaps our greatest source of social creativity and energy. As the National Commission on Neighborhoods put it in its 1979 report, government should "work in and through the neighborhoods themselves."

§ *An economics of value.* As critics from John Ruskin in the nineteenth century to economist Hazel Henderson today have pointed out, economics suffers from the fantasy that it is separate from the rest of life. Narrow economic versions of populism perpetuate that illusion by merely demanding a fair share of the pie for all citizens. A more fundamental approach reintroduces themes of value, community and commonwealth into the economic debate as well. There is a growing body of studies and documents to draw on—from the proposals for community-based planning put forth by Representative John Conyers Jr. or by the Project for Industrial Policy and Democracy to the moral imperatives outlined by Episcopal urban bishops and by the Catholic bishops' recent pastoral letter, which calls on society to "[take] the side of those who are powerless or on the margins of the society." Such perspectives are animated by a demand that values such as community preservation, justice, awareness of our intricate ties to the natural world and decentralization take precedence over imperatives of technological innovation and traditionally defined progress.

§ *Global interdependence.* People who fear the future, who feel they have been severed from their deepest values and historical memories, tend to be susceptible to militaristic propaganda. But many of the populist movements of the 1880s and 1890s opposed war. The new populism finds links between military spending and the decay of towns and cities, and calls for an end to violence and confrontation abroad. It stresses the common bond that exists among diverse communities in America and offers as an alternative to Reagan's bellicose rhetoric the proposition that America is strong enough and confident enough to build on the bond that exists among all the world's peoples.

These themes are espoused by community groups battling against widely different ills, from farm foreclosures to urban drug problems to violence against women, from utility rate shut-offs to ecological degradation. The techniques of value-based community organizing have proved remarkably effective in uniting groups with divergent heritages, racial backgrounds, life styles and objectives.

One such effort—the Committees of Correspondence, a new "populist-ecological" organization which draws inspiration from the European Green Parties and movements like Solidarity and the Latin American base communities—has already begun and plans to organize on local and regional or bioregional levels, as well as nationally. Committees of Correspondence will hold its founding meeting next fall (for information, write Box 40040, St. Paul, Minn. 55104; $15 enlists one as a founding participant). Third par-

U.S.S.R.-CHINA

Peace and Friendship Tour Around the World

July 13 to August 10 29 Days $3495

Includes transportation from New York, around the world to San Francisco, first class hotels, 3 meals daily (except 2 days with breakfast only), sightseeing, excursions, all transfers, many theatre evenings and friendship meetings. Depart from New York to Moscow. Then Leningrad, Tashkent, Irkutsk. On to Mongolia, Peking, Shanghai, Xian (Terra Cotta warriors), Hong Kong and San Francisco, where the tour ends. Limited to 25 participants. Phone (305) 427-4779 or write PROGRESSIVE WORLD TOURS, Box 345, Deerfield Beach, FL 33441.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS

This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties, local and state organizations and the like could also develop, uniting in new ways groups that share fundamental concerns. Despite the drift and sense of moral chaos that prevail widely in America today, it is also a time of opportunity and transition. It is time for the seeds of political organization, power and value sown locally in recent years to bear fruit. □

'SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP'

Austria's Quiet Revolution Works

SIDNEY LENS

Vienna

Is there such a thing as a half-revolution? Can a society reach a stage in its political evolution when it can no longer be called capitalist, when it goes beyond a welfare state yet is not socialist by the traditional definition? If there is such a thing as a half-revolution, Austria probably comes closest to having achieved it.

In an interesting and little-understood experiment, workers, capitalists and government in this land of 7.5 million people have developed a unique form of collaboration called social partnership which has reduced unemployment and inflation and improved living standards. Bruno Kreisky, honorary chair of the Socialist Party and former chancellor, calls the program, of which he was a major architect, the "sublimation of the class struggle." Whatever it is, social partnership has scored a number of significant material successes.

From 1971 through 1981—before the worldwide recession began—Austria's rate of economic growth was 4.3 percent, as against the 3.2 percent average for the twenty-four-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes the major industrial countries of the West. Austria's cost of living rose by 6.1 percent a year, compared with 9.7 percent for the other twenty-three members, and its unemployment rate was 2 percent, the best record in the industrialized West. Even in 1984, the Austrian jobless figure was about 4 percent—one-third to one-half that of the major capitalist powers.

Austrian workers enjoy job security and a high standard of living. They receive free medical care, good pensions, family allowances and many other benefits. In the unlikely event they are laid off, workers receive about four-fifths of their previous wage for at least a year from the first day of unemployment.

The success of the social partnership has reduced the appeal of the radical left. "Most workers support it," a Communist journalist told me. "Many of our party members have resigned over it. They say we may be right in theory when we criticize social partnership, but the people don't believe us." A Trotskyist editor made a similar observation: "The average worker supports social partnership because it has brought tangible results. From 1952 to 1976 we had the biggest increase in our standard of living in history." The capitalists have accepted a program that is advantageous to labor because, he says, "They are too weak to fight it."

Austria's economic success story is based on three historical accidents. First, the Nazis constructed many heavy industries in Austria after incorporating it into Germany in 1938, and after the war the Austrians nationalized that sector of the economy under pressure from their Soviet occupiers. Second, in 1955 the Soviet Union decided to end its occupation of about half of Austria in return for a pledge that the country would remain neutral in world affairs. Third, the United States and its allies never tried to undermine the Austrian economic experiment. There were no blockades, no economic sanctions, no military threats, no attempts at a coup by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Today, many enterprises, including the two major banks, and most of Austria's heavy industries, including those involved in the production of iron and steel, chemicals and metalworking machinery, are operated by the government-controlled Austrian Industrial Administration Company (O.I.A.G.). Control of those core sectors, which account for about one-third of the gross national product, gives the government enormous leverage in dealing with unemployment, inflation and wages. In order to hold down the level of unemployment during the recent recession, the nationalized industries retained thousands of people on their payrolls who would have been laid off had they worked for private companies.

Along with the O.I.A.G., another institution unique in the West, the Parity Commission, effectively determines

Sidney Lens is senior editor of The Progressive. *His latest book is* The Maginot Line Syndrome: America's Hopeless Foreign Policy *(Ballinger).*

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most prices and wages. Founded in 1957 as the Joint Commission for Prices and Wages by the four largest groups outside Parliament—unions, farmers, businessmen and the Chamber of Labor—its original purpose was to control inflation and guard against monopolistic practices. Technically, the Parity Commission has no enforcement power or parliamentary status; nevertheless, it dominates the economy. It meets regularly under the leadership of the chancellor. All workers must belong to the Chamber of Labor, a body which was constituted in 1921 as a substitute for unions, at the time illegal, and which now handles nonunion labor problems. All employers must belong to the Chamber of Trade and Industry; all farmers, to the Chamber of Agriculture. Although membership in one of the fifteen unions affiliated with the Trade Union Federation, Austria's only labor federation, is voluntary, three out of five workers belong. Thus, four centralized organizations collectively make the major economic decisions on wages and prices for all but peripheral industries, such as importing and fashion. About one-third of the economy operates under the free market. The remaining two-thirds, however, is rigorously controlled.

Workers negotiate wage increases through their individual unions, but any increase must be approved by the Parity Commission's wage subcommittee. Generally, raises that are tied to greater productivity and higher prices are permitted. While the subcommittee has no power to enforce its decisions, both labor and management are subject to a variety of subtle but effective pressures to comply. A union that demands more than the commission's guidelines permit loses support from the labor federation and will find itself without strike funds. Similarly, a business that wants to hike its prices needs the commission's approval. An employer who fails to obtain it finds himself ineligible for bank loans, development funds and the like. As a last resort the government can set its own price levels. In practice, the Parity Commission's guidelines are meticulously observed.

The Austrian experiment in economic partnership raises interesting questions about the various "industrial policy" schemes being advanced by Robert Reich, Felix Rohatyn, Barry Bluestone, Lester Thurow and other economists in the United States. The industrial transformation Reich advocates, for example, would "necessitate close cooperation among business, government and labor. Government must contribute public funds in the massive task of retooling and retraining." That sounds much like Austria's system, but it is far different. Social partnership works in Austria because the Socialist Party—which has tended to be more leftist than its sister parties in France and West Germany—dominates the political institutions and uses its power to protect and improve the lot of the working class; in the United States, where big business dominates government, a social compact would result in lower living standards. Social partnership in America would be a step toward the corporate state, not toward greater industrial democracy; a suppression of the class struggle, not a sublimation of it.

Even if the Austrian model cannot be transferred to the United States, does it have anything to teach us? I think it does. Since 1917 the left has had an image of revolution based on the Soviet experience: armed insurrection, a single disciplined political party, nationalization of virtually all industry, central economic planning. Some revolutions—in China, Yugoslavia and Cuba, for example—strayed a bit from that model, but they retained most of its elements. The American left rigidly distinguishes between "capitalist" and "socialist" states; reality has become a prisoner of image. Sweden, for instance, has achieved a much higher standard of living than socialist Czechoslovakia, and its social programs, taken as a whole, are as good or better. Yet it is considered capitalist. The Austrian model demonstrates that there is such a thing as a half-revolution, a broad social change that does not emulate the Soviet Union but that brings a qualitatively better life to the injured and oppressed. Isn't that what the left has been fighting for all these years? □

EDUCATORS: USE THE NATION IN YOUR CLASSROOM. SPECIAL LOW RATES. CALL STEPHEN SOULE (212) 242-8400.

Geneva Talks

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

ment, simply don't care whether Reagan has seen the light. As Daniel Berrigan put it, arms control is a "weasel code for continuing the arms-building—uncontrollably," a sentiment echoed by many others. Jim and Shelley Douglass, two activists who live near the railroad tracks that enter the Trident submarine base in Poulsbo, Washington, have no hopes that what happens in Geneva will stop the trains that rattle the windows of their house from carrying warheads.

To be sure, a few respondents were guardedly optimistic. Senator Alan Cranston, whose bid for the Presidency centered on his support for a nuclear freeze, said he takes Reagan at his word: "Four years of exposure to nuclear issues, global realities and the hopes and fears of the American people have undoubtedly all had a strong effect on the President. He seems to have faced and accepted the fact that there is no promising alternative to sustained arms control efforts." Herbert Scoville Jr., president of the Arms Control Association, called the Shultz-Gromyko talks a signal of the "beginning of serious attempts to limit nuclear and space weapons." Leslie Cagan, program coordinator of Mobilization for Survival, noted that "any direct negotiations between the two superpowers must be encouraged."

But even the optimists do not expect much more than posturing and, at best, a paper agreement. Hard-line opponents of any arms control agreement remain well entrenched in the national security bureaucracy—the same folks who sabotaged the I.N.F. and the START talks.

David Corn is a contributing editor of Nuclear Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"New policies require new policy-makers," commented Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists. "Since the President has decided not to change the players, there must be a strong presumption against new [policy] departures."

The Administration's policies on nuclear weapons also place obstacles in the path of a worthwhile agreement. Reagan continues to push for his strategic defense initiative (better known as Star Wars) while calling for reductions in offensive weapons by both sides. If Reagan's views become the U.S. negotiating position, little progress will be made. In that regard, Jane Wales, executive director of Physicians for Social Responsibility, predicted: "American negotiators will likely try to avoid any constraints on 'modernization' of delivery systems while delaying serious talks on banning space weaponry and underground nuclear tests. The Soviet arms control agenda is the polar opposite." The question, according to Representative Les AuCoin of Oregon, isn't "when or where we negotiate; it's what we negotiate." That is, will Reagan and the Russians seek to halt the development of a new generation of faster and more accurate weapons?

"If and when we see the Administration proposing to control speed and accuracy, we'll have reason to think it's become serious about arms control," said freshman Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa. "Otherwise we can be sure the business in Geneva is nothing more than a public relations exercise."

And what about the Russians? Are they more interested in shadow than substance? How can we be sure they are ready to bargain seriously? Roger Molander, president of the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies and a former staff member of the National Security Council, offered some criteria for judging Soviet seriousness. Look first, he said, at their opening proposal on long-range weapons. "Is it a pie-in-the-sky good deal for them or a reasonable reduction from the SALT II limits?" Then look at their response when the United States raises the subject of on-site inspection to verify cruise missile limits in Europe. There are recent indications that the Russians may well be prepared to yield a bit on that front.

But we are getting ahead of the game. Geneva is only the opening round, and it could be the closing one as well. We must hope that Reagan has heard the American people's demands for concrete progress on arms control and will agree, at the very least, to limit antisatellite testing, which *Atlantic* contributing editor Thomas Powers noted is the "logical place to begin." Whether the President has heard those demands or not, the respondents emphasized, the people must continue to pressure him. We can't leave the task of reducing the risk of nuclear war to a Johnny-come-lately. Here are some of the other replies we received.

I.F. STONE

I'm pessimistic. In its response to the freeze movement the American public (including the delegates to the Republican National Convention last summer) has shown that it believes that enough is enough. But the first hurdle for the Geneva talks is to give up antisatellite testing before the arms race engulfs outer space, and there is no sign whatsoever that President Reagan understands the issue or is ready to abandon his Star Wars scenario. Down that road, terrifyingly near, is the end of the antiballistic missile treaty and, with it, all hope of curbing offensive nuclear weapons.

We are trapped in contradictions. The country fears nuclear war but is addicted to the arms race and the jobs it creates. The mounting arsenal of weaponry makes the country feel good. Vapid talk of being strong hides the truth that the more the weapons, the more the danger; the "better" the weaponry, the more insecure we become. In the meantime, the pending arms talks are already being used as an argument against even piddling reductions in the swelling military budget, lest it send a wrong signal to the Russians. The Administration is going to Geneva because it has finally realized that an arms negotiation fig leaf is an essential component in maintaining the arms race.

I.F. Stone was The Nation*'s Washington editor from 1940 to 1946.*

JANE GRUENEBAUM

Any arms control discussion between the United States and the Soviet Union is a cause for hope, if not optimism. However, symbol cannot substitute for substance.

Because there has been so little public debate about the requirements for sound arms control, I remain skeptical about the prospects of anything meaningful coming out of the talks. The most serious threat to our national security is continued U.S.-Soviet modernization of nuclear weapons. Allowing such modernization will make our bombers and land-based missiles more vulnerable, increase the pressure for a first strike, make an accidental nuclear war more likely and make nuclear weapons reductions more difficult to secure. Only a freeze on the production and testing of new nuclear weapons can halt such a dangerous development.

Negotiations must be based on an understanding of the threat posed by unrestrained nuclear modernization. The prospects for successful negotiations would be greatly enhanced if, as a first step, a moratorium was declared on testing of antisatellite weapons and nuclear warheads and flight testing of ballistic missiles.

Intense public pressure demanding progress and calling for an immediate moratorium on all testing will signal the negotiators that merely talking while the arms race proceeds is not acceptable.

Jane Gruenebaum is interim director of the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

RANDALL FORSBERG

I believe that President Reagan is interested in having some kind of dialogue with the Russians and will make an effort to open negotiations. But they will not lead

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to any significant restraints on the arms race.

One might expect, for example, the United States and the Soviet Union to agree to perpetuate the SALT I and SALT II ceilings in their forces. But nothing will curb the strategic defense initiative (Star Wars). I don't expect to see any arms control move to head off the MX missile, the B-1 and Stealth bombers, the cruise and Trident 2 missiles. I cannot imagine the Reagan Administration constraining any of the major features of the arms race.

As for the Soviet Union, it is interested in maintaining a dialogue, though it has said it does not want cosmetic agreements. Such a dialogue would restrain the Administration's anti-Soviet rhetoric. Although I don't see any limitations on the arms race coming out of new talks, there might be a modest improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations. That would be a good thing, but not good enough. We need talks aimed at bringing about a fundamental change in military policy.

Randall Forsberg is director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies and author of the freeze proposal.

RONALD V. DELLUMS

It has been said that the difference between an optimist and a pessimist is that the latter is better informed. Judging from the record of the United States and the Soviet Union in curbing the escalation of the nuclear arms race, and the revelations about opposition to arms control within the Reagan Administration in Strobe Talbott's *Deadly Gambits*, there seems little prospect for success in the months ahead.

But 1985 is a new year, so one must hope that sanity will finally prevail over irrationality at Geneva in the necessary collective effort to defuse the growing danger of a global nuclear holocaust. Both sides are at fault in creating a climate of mutual fear and distrust, and both have the moral and political responsibility to the rest of humankind to halt and then reverse the nuclear arms race.

I am not a unilateral disarmer, but I am committed to constructive unilateral initiatives by both sides that would demonstrate a sense of serious purpose. The United States should prove its good faith by declaring a moratorium on the further development and testing of all space weapons, and a freeze on the further deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. Similarly, the Soviets should respond by declaring a freeze on the further deployment of SS-20s, SS-21s and SS-22s in Europe and Asia. Further, they should fully explain the purpose of the phased-array radar complex that is under construction at Abalakova in Krasnoyarsk province, a system that may be in violation of the provisions of the ABM treaty of 1972.

Such responsible initiatives would be a mutual recognition that comprehensive arms restraint and reduction agreements are an absolute necessity if life on this planet is to continue.

Ronald V. Dellums is the Representative from California's Eighth District.

BERNARD T. FELD

Despite my congenital optimism, I am pessimistic about the prospects for any progress resulting from the Shultz-Gromyko talks. I simply do not see how a country can arm furiously and, at the same time, seriously control the arms race. How can a country have an announced policy of preparing to fight (and to win, whatever that means) space wars and yet strive for the nonmilitarization of space? How long can the 1972 ABM treaty—the only successful arms control measure of the past quarter-century—last when both sides are openly developing and testing missile defenses and counterdefenses? How long will we and the Russians be able to maintain the mutually advantageous and stabilizing aspects of our open-skies policies if we develop and deploy antisatellite systems?

There is little hope for arms control while both sides continue to give free rein and lavish support to weapons laboratories and their weaponers. It is the hallmark of our time that any serious negotiation takes longer to come to fruition than the time needed to develop the weapons that will circumvent the arms control measures under consideration. As long as we permit that situation to prevail, we will continue our relentless march toward disaster.

Bernard T. Feld is editor of The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

ERWIN KNOLL

I am reasonably confident that talks will take place and that they will result in some sort of arms control agreement. I believe the Reagan Administration has succeeded, with its reckless rhetoric and mindless military spending, in thoroughly frightening the Soviet leadership. Recent Soviet statements suggest an eagerness to reach accommodation even on terms that might have been unpalatable in the past.

At the same time, the Reagan Administration seems to have learned during the recent Presidential campaign that most Americans do not approve of missile-rattling, that they favor an active pursuit of peace. The President substantially moderated his tough talk during the campaign and would probably see a new arms control agreement as an asset to his party in the 1988 Presidential race.

My pessimism centers on the substantive value of any new arms control agreement. The SALT I treaty was nothing but a mutual agreement to perpetuate and even intensify the arms race. SALT II, unratified but observed by both superpowers, has had exactly the same effect; indeed, it has been observed primarily because it has permitted virtually every new weapon that either the Soviet Union or the United States could develop and deploy during the treaty's term.

There is no reason to expect more from any new agreement until we are ready to abandon the idea of *arms control*, which is part of the problem, rather than the solution, and embrace the concept of *disarmament*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And we will do that only by building a far larger and more insistent peace constituency than we have managed to muster so far.

Erwin Knoll is editor of The Progressive.

HAROLD WILLENS

I am optimistic because I believe second-term Presidents unfailingly turn their eyes from the hustings to the history books and this President's main chance for immortality lies in reversing the nuclear arms race. Moreover, the re-education of Ronald Reagan on this issue seems real when one compares his 1980 and 1984 campaign statements. The process that led to his enlightenment should make Reagan proud, since he places more faith in people than in government: it is the American people who have been making their political leaders understand how high a price we are apt to pay for pursuing pro-nuclear policies. But I am also pessimistic because Ronald Reagan may rely on the wrong subordinates to do the right thing for the country—subordinates who equate strategic arms reduction with building 17,000 nuclear weapons and who cannot see that Star Wars is a strategically destabilizing, economically debilitating fantasy.

Harold Willens is a Los Angeles businessman and the author of The Trimtab Factor: How Business Executives Can Help Solve the Nuclear Weapons Crisis *(William Morrow).*

GORDON ADAMS

The United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in a strategic war for four years. Since 1981 the United States has added to its arsenal 400 submarine-launched ballistic missiles, more than 100 Pershing 2 missiles, roughly 1,000 ground-, air- and sea-launched cruise missiles and more than 2,000 nuclear warheads. The Soviet Union has acquired 400 ICBM warheads, 600 submarine-launched ballistic missiles and at least 60 bombers. As a result, each nuclear power is weaker and more vulnerable. Arms control by mutual threat is a dismal failure.

The Geneva talks are a fragile reed on which to hang our hopes for change. Two bureaucratic enclaves contend for the soul of the Reagan arms control policy: the Defense Department, with its endless effort to coerce the Russians by outspending them, and the State Department, with its negotiations that have no goal or purpose. Neither agency seeks arms control. The Geneva talks are motivated by domestic politics, not a desire for international peace. They are intended to silence America's first major public debate about national security since the 1960s and to sell Star Wars, the MX missile and the defense budget to a recalcitrant Congress. As a result, any arms negotiations will take a long time—perhaps four more years. Without concentrated Congressional and public pressure, there will be little progress.

Gordon Adams is director of the Defense Budget Project at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

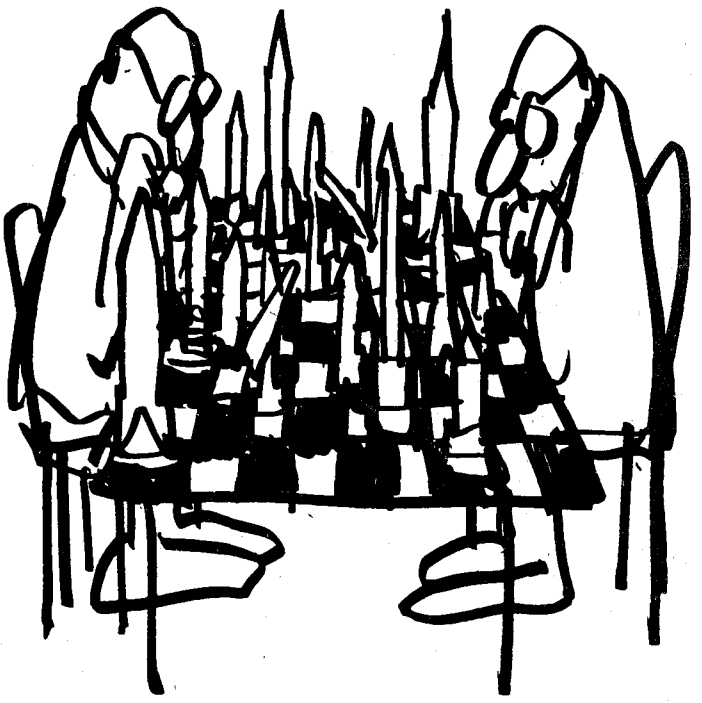
ADAM HOCHSCHILD

Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinsky have already taken their walk in the woods, so where is there left for them to go? To the mountains, maybe? Watch for some dramatic maneuver like that, which will be trumpeted as a breakthrough by both sides. From it will emerge SALT III, which Reagan will go to Moscow to sign. Air Force One will touch down at Sheremetyevo Airport at 2 A.M. Moscow time, so as to be carried live on U.S. prime-time TV. Reagan will give a little speech about how we have achieved peace through strength.

What will SALT III contain? Like the two previous SALTs, it will be a rationalization of the arms race, only at a higher level. Pershing 2s, cruise missiles and SS-20s will be frozen at the levels in place at the signing, which of course will be much greater than now. Numbers of troops in Europe will be reduced but only slightly. There will be certain restrictions on laser-beam weapons in space. The Pentagon will agree to that because by then it will have learned that they don't work. And for the most deadly, most destabilizing future weapon of all, the Trident 2 missile and its Soviet equivalent, there will be a ceiling, allowing each side to build, say, only a hundred.

Why does the prospect of nonsensical agreements like this not enrage the public and draw them into the streets as it did the hundreds of thousands who filled Central Park in 1982? That is one of the great mysteries of our time. Unless we in the peace movement can solve it, we risk a world where the only things left for SALT IV to regulate will be sticks and stones and clumps of radioactive earth. □

Adam Hochschild is a contributing editor of Mother Jones.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

Central America
Appearing just after the controversial Kissinger report in January 1984, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution today, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history.

Fifteen Years of the Burger Court
Herman Schwartz and his cadre of twelve leading lawyers and scholars put together an invaluable assessment of the Burger Court. Leaving no stone unturned, the authors scrutinize the last fifteen years of "intense judicial activism" in a thought-provoking manner. No lawyer, student of the courts or concerned citizen should be without this issue.

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It
Published on the eve of the first anniversary of the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, this issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the tragedy. After a year of thorough research, author David Pearson concludes that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry.

The Strange Correspondence of Morris Ernst & John Edgar Hoover, 1939–1964
Harrison E. Salisbury, the award-winning journalist, details how the director of the F.B.I. exploited and debased the confidence of a leading civil libertarian, and in so doing seriously compromised the A.C.L.U. Salisbury draws on some 300 exchanges to document the extent to which the machinations of the "top constable" profaned the democratic process.

Latin America: A Political Guide
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

El Salvador
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

A Letter to America
The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

Intervention
Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement
Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear Samizdat
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology
From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine leading experts explore and explain the latest arms technology—both "conventional" and nuclear—and trace the political decisions which have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before.

Empire as a Way of Life
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

Myths of the Middle East
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

The Selling of Japan
From every quarter American business is urged to adopt some feature of Japan's stunningly successful economic model. But is this model applicable to the United States? What are the implications of Japanese solutions to the problems of American business? This issue opens up and expands the "Japan debate," while shattering some of the myths about the Japanese economic system now in circulation.

Feminist Books
Today, an exciting new feminist scholarship is re-evaluating a host of subjects from sexuality to the history of socialism to coeducation. This special issue offers an up-to-date sampling of recent offerings in a field that is more lively, contradictory and urgent than ever.

Back Issues of The Nation
Back issues are $3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)

THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $1.50 ea.			
50-99: $1.00 ea.			
100-499: $ .75 ea.			
500 or more: $ .50 ea.			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required.** (U.S. currency only.)

NR8501

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

A Radical's Unorthodoxy

CASEY BLAKE

A CRITICAL AMERICAN: The Politics of Dwight Macdonald. *By Stephen J. Whitfield. Archon. 179 pp. $19.50.*

To Dwight Macdonald, self-proclaimed "anarcho-cynicalist" and editor of the radical journal *Politics* from 1944 to 1949, nothing symbolized the closing of political options in the 1940s better than the ideological marriage of the two Henrys, Luce and Wallace. An issue of Luce's *Life* in 1941 heralded the beginning of an "American Century," in which the United States would act both as "the dynamic leader of world trade" and as the moral "powerhouse" spreading "the great principles of Western civilization—above all Justice, the love of Truth, the ideal of Charity" around the globe. When Henry Wallace, soon to serve as the old Popular Front's last best hope, answered Luce's vision of empire with his own ideal of "the century of the common man," he too assumed that the United States would export its moral values along with its capital. In a private letter to Luce, Wallace told him he could find nothing in the Time Inc. version of the postwar future "of which I disapprove."

The convergence of Luce's and Wallace's views of an American century represented everything that Dwight and Nancy Macdonald's *Politics* sought to discredit. Where the two Henrys blurred the distinction between political power and sentimental humanitarianism, Dwight Macdonald insisted that a renewal of ethical absolutes must remain the first step in political change. While the two Henrys used the vague pieties of the progressive tradition to justify American war aims, Macdonald drew on Randolph Bourne's antiwar essays of 1917 to show that the engineers of total war engaged in total destruction for its own sake, and liberal intellectuals were left the job of making slaughter palatable to the public. And, most important, while Luce and Wallace indulged in pseudopopulist fantasies of a postwar global democracy, Macdonald recognized that theirs was a democracy of victims, not of citizens. "Not for many centuries have individuals been at once so powerless to influence what is done by the national collectivities to which they belong," he wrote, "and at the same time so generally held responsible for what is done by those collectivities."

Stephen J. Whitfield's *A Critical American* reminds us of the central place of *Politics* in American radical thought and of Macdonald's unmatched gifts as a polemicist. Whitfield correctly identifies Macdonald as the intellectual who bridged the gap between the radicalism of the 1940s and that of the 1960s. The magazine that Macdonald originally planned to call *New Left* (until C. Wright Mills gave him the title *Politics*) welcomed Mills, Paul Goodman, Simone Weil, Albert Camus and other writers who would come to inspire the early New Left. Macdonald's most important essay, "The Root Is Man," opposed a post-Marxist radical humanism to the liberal's faith in organization and technology, insisting on a decentralized, morally grounded politics of nonviolent resistance which would later be echoed in the "Port Huron Statement," the civil rights movement and organized opposition to the Vietnam War. The very style and format of *Politics*—perhaps the most personal endeavor on the American left since the hundreds of tiny populist and socialist newspapers published at the turn of the century—prefigured the freewheeling iconoclasm of the 1960s counterculture. Macdonald's essays combined a powerful indictment of a dehumanized age with a savagely funny style which held up the ironic intellect as a means of liberation. Even today, Macdonald's best work reads as if it had just been written. His *Politics* essays constitute an American *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, as translated by H.L. Mencken.

Whitfield's book, really an extended essay, is probably only the first of numerous studies of Macdonald and his circle which are bound to appear in the near future. Many members of the generation of New York intellectuals who made the long journey from fellow-traveling liberalism to anti-Stalinist Marxism and, finally, to the cold war consensus celebrated in *Partisan Review*'s "Our Country and Our Culture" symposium of 1952 have already had their say. William Barrett, William Phillips, Irving Howe and Lionel Abel have all published memoirs in the past few years, in each case provoking reviewers to refight the battles of New York's literary left during the grim years between the Moscow trials and Hiroshima. In these works, Macdonald is customarily depicted as a lively but somehow insubstantial figure, a political lightweight with a sharp tongue. For neoconservatives like Barrett and historian William L. O'Neill, Macdonald was a useful ally in the campaign against the cultural Popular Front. His radicalism, however, tends to be ignored or trivialized, as if his wit precluded the possibility of serious thought.

The dilemma of *Politics* in the late 1940s, namely that of maintaining an independent radical position in a world divided by superpowers armed with deadly weapons and deadly clichés, reappears in these memoirs and histories. For those whose world view has been entirely shaped by the cold war, Macdonald is an impossible figure to understand. The neocons love his description of Henry Wallaceland ("a region of perpetual fogs, caused by the warm winds of the liberal Gulf Stream coming in contact with the Soviet glacier") but view his radical critique of advanced industrialism with impatient bemusement. Macdonald's political ideas were "exotic," inconsistent, intellectual dandyism—in other words, they didn't fit the prescribed categories of cold war politics. The closing of options in the late 1940s has been matched by the closing of minds in the early 1980s, leaving no space for a thinker as original and resilient as Macdonald.

To some extent, Macdonald was himself responsible for this reputation. His public actions branded him as an intellectual Wobbly devoted to sabotage at the point of cultural production. As he explained in his autobiographical introduction to *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, the 1957 anthology of his *Politics* essays (now, sadly, out of print), his career as a literary radical began while he was a student at Phillips Exeter Academy, where he founded "an exclusive club—there were only two other members—called The Hedonists." Firm believers in the time-honored tradition of

Casey Blake is a professor of history at Reed College.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"school spirit sucks," Macdonald's Hedonists sported monocles, purple batik ties and canes; published a newspaper with the motto "*Pour Épater les Bourgeois*"; and dedicated themselves to the principles of "Cynicism, Estheticism, Criticism, Pessimism." Forty years later, the renowned cultural critic was a guest at Lyndon Johnson's White House Festival of the Arts, where, with his shirttails hanging out, he circulated a petition condemning the President's war in Vietnam. The high point of the event was Macdonald's "eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation" with Charlton Heston, who told him "in the nicest possible way" that intellectuals should keep their noses out of foreign policy.

Along the way, between the purple batik ties and the showdown with Ben Hur, Macdonald had thrown a number of other wrenches into the works of cultural establishments. A writer at Luce's *Fortune*, he brought his relationship with that magazine to an end by beginning an exposé of U.S. Steel in 1936 with a quote from Lenin's *Imperialism*. A brief period of fellow-traveling ended with a letter to *The New Republic* denouncing Malcolm Cowley's feeble defense of the Moscow trials. A member of the Socialist Workers Party, and then the Workers Party, from 1939 to 1941, Macdonald dared to take on the great man himself, challenging Trotsky on the notion that the Soviet Union was a "workers' state" when workers had little say in its government. After six years with *Partisan Review*, he quit to start *Politics*, charging that *P.R.*'s pro-war stance meant that it had given up partisanship for book reviewing. *Politics* itself moved quickly from the Deweyite Marxism popular among New York intellectuals to anarcho-pacifism, until weariness and financial difficulties forced Macdonald to shut down operations in 1949. By the 1950s, he was convinced that pacifism represented a de facto capitulation to the Soviet Union and so, however reluctantly, "chose the West" in a speech at Mount Holyoke.

Unlike the majority of former leftists who made the same choice with enthusiastic fanfare for their country and their culture, Macdonald's anticommunism remained somewhat "against the American grain" and reflected the collapse of a third way between the superpowers. "Perhaps there is no solution any longer," he wrote despairingly in 1953. "Certainly the actual workings of history today yield an increasing number of situations in which *all* the real alternatives (as against the theoretically possible ones) seem hopeless." By the mid-1960s his interest in politics revived, as did his spirits, and it is not surprising that Macdonald spoke out openly in favor of the Columbia radicals of 1968. Though he regretted that the New Leftists lacked the "intellectual and moral style . . . my own generation had," Macdonald undoubtedly recognized something of his own past as a young "revolutionist" in the protesters who occupied the university president's office and smoked his cigars.

Macdonald was fond of quoting Lord Melbourne's dictum, "Nobody ever did anything very foolish except from some strong principle," and it is to Whitfield's credit that he has salvaged Macdonald's principles from the wreckage of cold war verbiage that still taints all discussions of liberalism and the left in the postwar era. Between 1938 and his death in December 1982, Macdonald was—in Whitfield's view—"a democrat and a libertarian (but not a liberal) in politics, an elitist and a classicist (but not a formalist) in the arts, an empiricist and a fox (rather than a hedgehog) by temperament." *A Critical American* reveals the predicament of a keen intellect obsessed with moral standards and precision in public language when confronted with official propaganda, bureaucratic elitism and indiscriminate warfare. In 1944, Macdonald believed that

> our best hope for a better, or even a humanly tolerable world after this war is for the common people to take things in their own hands in a series of popular revolutions which will be socialist as to economics and democratic as to politics. The chances of anything like that happening in this country in the foreseeable future would seem to be as close to nil as at any time in our history.

That problem has haunted the democratic left ever since, as has the possibility of nuclear war, which Macdonald saw as "the natural product of the kind of society we have created." In recounting the story of "one man's search for a principled radicalism," Whitfield restores Macdonald to his position of honor in a dishonorable age.

That said, one hopes that this will not be the last word on Macdonald. The book really only scratches the surface of his career, omitting any discussion of his cultural criticism and, most surprisingly, refraining from any real treatment of Macdonald as a person. Too often, Whitfield relies on Macdonald's self-deprecating introduction to *Memoirs*, when letters or interviews would present a richer portrait of this cantankerous fellow. Nor does Whitfield always do justice to the flavor and power of Macdonald's writing. "The Root Is Man" loses its force in Whitfield's account, since he considers it a dry period piece. This will come as a surprise to those who remember Macdonald's important distinction between "progressive" and "radical" politics:

> The Progressive makes History the center of his ideology. The Radical puts Man there. The Progressive's attitude is optimistic both about human nature . . . and about the possibility of understanding history through scientific method. The Radical is, if not exactly pessimistic, at least more sensitive to the dual nature of man; he sees evil as well as good at the base of human nature; he is skeptical about the ability of science to explain things beyond a certain point; he is aware of the tragic element in man's fate not only today but in any conceivable kind of society.

That the debate between these positions still continues should be clear to anyone familiar with the current state of the intellectual left. Whitfield misses this aspect of Macdonald's legacy altogether. Nor does he help matters by occasionally trying to mimic Macdonald's style, a formidable task best avoided by even the most gifted polemicist. To label "The Root Is Man" a lifeless, dated diatribe only to drop off a few leaden one-liners of one's own is to borrow trouble.

Future work on Macdonald will have to begin by examining the connection between his political and cultural criticism which Whitfield ignores. Not since Randolph Bourne had an American intellectual argued so convincingly that the two are inseparable and that political change requires a cultural revolution. Like his contemporaries Reinhold Niebuhr, Lionel Trilling and Paul Goodman, Macdonald sought to re-establish political criticism on the basis of moral and psychological principles resistant to the changing fads of consumer culture and party platforms. "The Root Is Man" asserted the existence of a "vital core" of free will in human nature, an irreducible area that could never succumb completely to the iron laws of history or the iron cage of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rx for infoglut.

☐ Are you finding it difficult to keep up with all the magazines you'd like to read regularly if you could find the time?

☐ Are you interested in news that can't be found on the newsstands?

☐ Would you like an easy and effective way to monitor the most innovative, challenging and unconventional viewpoints of the alternative press?

Then join the ***Utne Reader*** as a Charter Subscriber and get a bi-monthly "alternative reader's digest" of the best new thoughts in print — briefs of emerging ideas, issues and trends selected from over 1,000 small circulation, independently published magazines and newsletters.

SPECIAL Introductory Rate for NEW subscribers!

Send help! Start my Charter Subscription at the special introductory rate of $18 for a full year (6 issues). That's a savings of 25% off the single copy price. I understand that if the *Utne Reader* disappoints me in any way, I may cancel and receive an unquestioned refund on all unmailed copies.

Name

Address and Apt. No.

City State Zip

☐ Payment Enclosed

Utne Reader
P.O. Box 1974, Marion, Ohio 43305

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bureaucratic rationality. Macdonald's subsequent writings, even his most apparently apolitical essays, should be seen as attempts to safeguard that vital core of freedom.

Macdonald differed most from Neibuhr, Trilling and Goodman in his sense of where that vital core lay. While Neibuhr called on a Judeo-Christian notion of the self as both limited and transcendent, and while Trilling and Goodman—in very different ways—looked to psychoanalysis for a human vantage point "beyond culture," Macdonald's sense of shrinking opportunities for political change left him only the promise of elite culture as an alternative to the uniformity of modern life. His hero Bourne may have hoped to create a "Beloved Community," a popular culture that would serve to educate a democratic citizenry, but Macdonald increasingly saw in the postwar West only the ascendancy of the "mass man," whose every thought was the product of the "masscult" industry. As he wrote in "Masscult and Midcult," his most famous defense of high culture, the "atoms" of mass society "cohere . . . in a purely mechanical way, as iron filings of different shapes and sizes are pulled toward a magnet working on the one quality they have in common." Like the critical theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Macdonald found less and less breathing space in the chambers of mass culture.

Where, then, did the possibility of human freedom lie for Macdonald? In the end, only in intellectual style, the gift he possessed in such enormous quantity. It was cosmopolitan style that attracted Macdonald to Trotsky in the 1930s—a style that was, to his mind, so obviously lacking in the United States. Returning to New York in 1957 after a year in London, Macdonald described Americans as "an unhappy people . . . a people without style, without a sense of what is humanly satisfying." And Macdonald cultivated his own style, not just in his writing but in his very persona, adopting an attitude of perpetual crankiness as his protection against kitsch and conformism. The irony of this position, of course, was that a radicalism of style only mirrored the promises of self-fulfillment offered by mass culture. Macdonald himself recognized that the mass media created a false *Gemeinschaft* by "emphasizing the personality of the artist." This cult of charismatic "personality" provided "the simplest way" of answering individuals' "need to be related to other people" without providing a genuine democratic community. Macdonald's fascination with a style of rebellion, another of his legacies to the New Left, offered no real alternative to this state of affairs, since (as subsequent years have shown) all dissident styles have become grist for the "masscult" mill. A hope for the survival of human agency based on the idiosyncracies of personal style is a thin hope indeed.

For all that, Macdonald's insistence on the interconnections between culture and politics, between personality and society and between human agency and radical change remain the starting point for all current discussions of where we should go next. With the revival of the cold war, the left needs more than ever to heed voices such as his, voices that ask uncomfortable questions and take up positions that often have no official defenders. The real test of the intellectual left in the coming years will be its ability to stand aside amid the reruns of the ideological cold war and to resist (perhaps more consistently than Macdonald did) the clamor to take sides once again. Last year's uproar over *The Rosenberg File*, with its assumption (on both the right and the left) that the contemporary left sinks or swims with the case for the Rosenbergs' innocence, is a disturbing sign of intellectual regression. A more productive approach to our own past would involve turning to "The Root Is Man," *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* and other documents in the proudly unorthodox tradition of American radical thought, and sorting out their legacy. If that seems like an irresponsible avoidance of concrete proposals and programs, well, there are worse things radical intellectuals could do in a period of isolation and powerlessness. At its best, a self-critical left might answer Macdonald's stirring call to arms at the conclusion of "The Root Is Man":

> We must emphasize the emotions, the imagination, the moral feelings, the primacy of the individual human being once more, must restore the balance that has been broken by the hypertrophy of science in the last two centuries. The root is man, here and not there, now and not then. □

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Post-Graffiti Art: CRASH, DAZE

When Tony Silver and Henry Chalfant set out a few years ago to make a film about what they perceived as the endangered culture of the South Bronx—graffiti, break dancing, disco rapping—their motives were, in a sense, ethnographic. Those forms of expression *were* endangered, but not quite in the way the filmmakers had supposed. By the time their *Style Wars* was shown on PBS to wide critical acclaim, the entire Hip-Hop culture had moved horizontally through suburban culture, where it was already beginning to fade, and vertically into the reaches of high culture, where it was appropriated by artists very different from those who had invented it. Break dancing had been incorporated into ballet, rapping doubtless awaited an operatic future and the idioms of graffiti had been internalized by painters who lived far from the violent matrices of ghetto streets. Hip-Hop culture was thereby gentrified from two directions, to the marginal advantage of its originators. Rappers, to be sure, made tapes, at best an ephemeral monument; breakers, thin and tough as rope, instructed members of the leisure classes who saw in their contortions the next thing after yoga and jogging. But the writers, as they called themselves, were scouted by the art world and, for the first time, cash became a factor for young men and women who had heretofore operated for glory and beauty alone. The most dispiriting sequence in *Style Wars* shows these young knights of the spray can being lionized by crass esthetes.

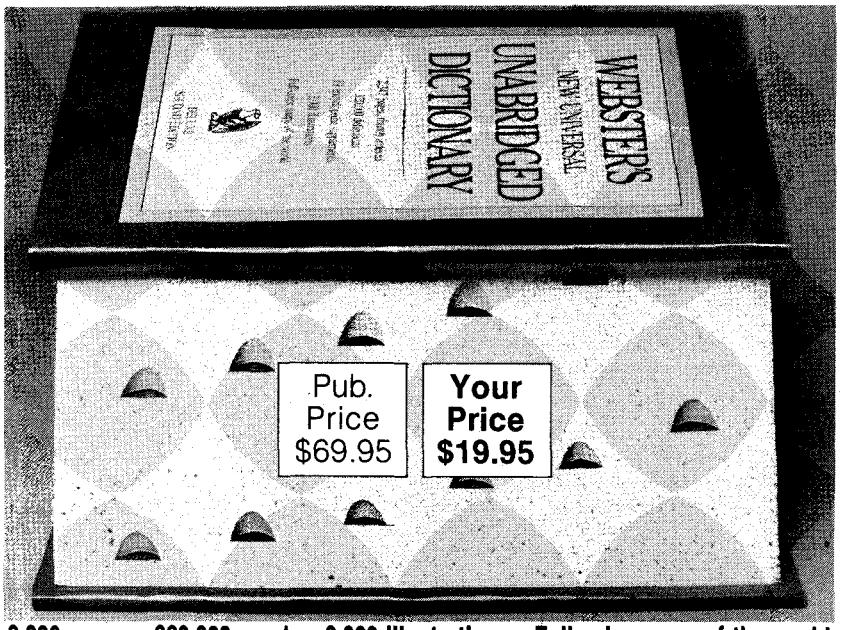
There can be few developments in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history of art quite so remarkable as that which began with the inscriptions "TAKI 183" which covered New York around 1971 and culminated, almost immediately, in the full-scale subway-car calligram with its elaborate iconography, its brash signatory notations and its witty communications to a population that saw, mostly, disorderly evidence of a municipality held hostage by vandals. Sprouting abruptly as mushrooms, a spontaneous art complex as nuanced and structured as that of Siena in the trecento was in place. It had workshops, masters and apprentices; a system of nicknames or "tags" (most artists of the Renaissance are known to us by their tags: Barbarelli as Giorgione, or Big George; Tommaso Guidi as Masaccio, or Bad Tommy; Jacopo Robusti as Tintoretto, or Little Dyer; and so forth); a critical vocabulary; an esthetic code; a philosophy of art; and the elements of an art history. Since the subway system was at once art school and cathedral wall, a preponderance of awful scribbling accompanied the majestic progress of the masterpieces through dank and scary tunnels. Few who observed the visual cacophony from stops in four boroughs were prepared to make fine distinctions, and even those responsive to the masterpieces—those "bouquets of colors from the Caribbean," as Claes Oldenburg described them—had some doubts as to whether the costs were worth the occasional splendor. And everyone was aware that laws were being broken so that the writers could, as the expression went, "get up." There is little doubt that the consciousness of lawbreaking and its attendant risks was an important element in subway art, perhaps contributing to the decision to work monumentally, since the penalty was the same whatever the scale. But it is important to recognize that writing was not a means for breaking the law. In their own eyes the writers were not brutalizing bourgeois sensibility, like Céline, but enhancing public property to the intended gratification of all and the particular fame of him or her who took such risks for art. Artists have legendarily suffered a great deal to get up—but who took greater chances against greater odds than these?

There had always been some speculation as to how the writers' unquestioned talent might be sundered from the squalor for which they were responsible, and now the social transition has

The price of looking it up just went *way down!*



2,300 pages • 320,000 words • 3,000 illustrations • Full-color maps of the world

Now you can own the latest edition of one of the finest dictionaries in print—and at the same time save $50.

This giant reference work, over 2,300 pages long and about 4 inches thick, was originally published at $69.95. But Barnes & Noble—the world's largest bookstore—is offering it to you for the incredibly low price of only $19.95. That's less than one-third the original publisher's price.

Webster's— Standard Reference for More than 40 Years

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary has been a standard reference work for more than 40 years. The *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* continues that fine tradition and is one of the most complete and up-to-date dictionaries available today. Just look at what it contains:

- clear and accurate definitions for 320,000 words and phrases including new additions to the language from physics, chemistry, biology and other specialized fields;
- more than 3,000 illustrations;
- a complete collection of full-color maps of the world;
- thumb-indexed for easy reference.

In addition, the entries are printed in large, clear type, making this dictionary especially easy for you to read.

19 Important Encyclopedia Supplements

These useful supplements offer a wide range of valuable encyclopedic information, including...

- A Dictionary of Geography
- A Dictionary of Noted Names in Fiction, Mythology, Legend
- A Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases
- A Dictionary of Scripture Proper Names
- Most Commonly Used Abbreviations
- Practical Business Mathematics;
- Commercial and Financial Terms
- Forms of Address
- Tables of Weights and Measures
- Presidents, Vice Presidents and Cabinet Officers of the United States
- Air Distances between Principal Cities
- Principal Geographical Features of the World

NOW SAVE $50

You might expect a dictionary that's this complete to cost you as much as $50, $60, or even $70. Indeed, the original publisher's price of *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* is $69.95. But now, by special arrangement with the publisher, we can offer this fine reference work for the amazingly low price of only $19.95. That's a saving of $50.00 or 70% off the original publisher's price.

SINCE 1873
Barnes & Noble
BOOKSTORES
126 Fifth Ave., Dept. W220, N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1189398. Please rush me_____copies of the *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* at your special sale price of $19.95 (plus $3.00 shipping & insurance). *N.Y. and N.J. residents: Please add sales tax.*

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Offer good only in the continental U.S.A.

Your 30 Day Money-Back Guarantee
Examine this unabridged dictionary for up to 30 days. If you are not absolutely convinced that it is the finest dictionary you ever used, return it for a full and prompt refund.

✔Check One
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ I prefer to charge this purchase to:

☐ American Express Card ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Account# Exp.

Signature

©1984, Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If a nuclear holocaust happened.....

If you wanted to end your life because of radiation sickness.....

What are the practicalities of graceful self-deliverance?

Read

Let Me Die Before I Wake

By Derek Humphry $10.00
From Bookstores
(Distribution: Grove Press, NY)
Or mail-order (send $11.50) to

Hemlock Society
(Non-profit)
P.O. Box 66218
Los Angeles, CA 90066
(213) 391-1871

MARAZUL STUDY TOURS TO NICARAGUA Spring, 1985

★ March 10-24 $845 from Miami
★ April 5-14 $690 from Miami
★ May 12-26 $845 from Miami

...There's still time to sign up on our **Sandino Tour, Feb. 10-24!**

As the largest U.S. operator of tours to Nicaragua, Marazul Tours can make all arrangements for individuals and groups including air tickets, accommodations, transportation and study programs (for groups of at least 7 participants).

PLEASE WRITE FOR DETAILS ON THESE OR ANY OF OUR PROGRAMS TO NICARAGUA, CUBA, THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN & WESTERN EUROPE

Marazul Tours, Inc.
250 W. 57 Street, Suite 1312
New York, N.Y. 10107
212 582-9570
Outside NY State: 800 223-5334 toll free

The Progressive Professionals
A full service travel agency.

been made, at least by the few who have forsaken the train yard for the uptown gallery and the savageries of the art market. Graffiti continues sullenly in its natural habitat, having been reduced in people's minds to little more than a sociological problem and an administrative headache. But now we can see whether its transplanted gifts can survive—whether the moral luck through which the ivory portals have swung open to outsiders can be exploited as the beginnings of artistic careers.

This is a very different matter from the elevation of popular forms to high cultural levels. One would, for instance, have expected enfranchised artists to incorporate something of the spirit of graffiti in their works or even, as with Keith Haring, to descend into the tunnels to make a mark on public walls and expose themselves to the same set of sanctions—though to my knowledge Haring has contented himself with stationary surfaces and has not attacked the motile ones of the true subway writer. Super- or hyperrealists might even paint illusionist canvases of flamboyantly embellished subway cars, might even make them life-size. I can imagine a market growing up for salvaged panels from abandoned cars, semiartistic collectibles for authentic lofts. I can even imagine, if Rockefeller were alive, a new wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art filled with cars purchased from the M.T.A. and generously donated for the instruction and enjoyment of future generations. *My* concern is with what sort of paintings the original writers can make when enabled by patronage to become studio artists working on surfaces rather more standard than the heavy-duty sheet metal of the I.R.T. The spray can may be a genuine augmentation of the artist's toolbox, more promising perhaps than the drip-stick of Pollock, since it facilitates the staining of large expanses without any special compromise in expressive vitality. And after all, a number of jazz musicians have ascended the stage at Carnegie Hall with no notable dilution in the quality of music. Why should DAZE and CRASH not make the same transition upward to the Janis Gallery, a little farther east on 57th Street, slightly to the left of the Russian Tea Room?

I have been shown some pretty classy "burners"—whole cars done in "wild style"—by CRASH and DAZE. I would place them in the A-minus class of writers—not quite up to SEEN, DONDI, BLADE, SKEME or KASE 2 (a brilliant draftsman)—but of fairly high quality on their own turf. I am struck by the fact that they continue to paint under their *noms de métro* rather than as John Matos and Chris Ellis, and that their show is advertised by Janis as "graffiti art"—as though they or the gallery had not enough confidence to display their work without benefit of a sociological excuse. But in candor, I think neither of them could survive without benefit of the pedigree and paraphernalia of the culture that formed them, which raises a question of paternalism at least. I was not even tempted to say something like, Not bad for a graffiti writer, since I think well of graffiti when it is good, and as graffiti writers they are good to very good. But working under the imperatives of gallery artists, DAZE and CRASH, for all the vividness of their imagery and the phosphorescence of their coloration, are pretty feeble. And I find it instructive that this should be so, since I think there is an easy answer to the question, Why? It has to do with training rather than talent. Their trouble is knowing too little and knowing how to do too little. They need the benefits of a good art school. Energy alone can only carry you so far.

CRASH is the abler artist, I would judge, and a sign of this is that he remains closer to his original success as a writer. He uses his name as a motif, for example, but works it up into a pictography of things that actually crash, as though within the frame of a comic strip. Inevitably there is a suggestion of Roy Lichtenstein, and it is not surprising that CRASH should use certain mannerisms from Pop Art. Pop must have been the first of contemporary art movements to be publicized in media accessible in the South Bronx; the writer FRED did a car with a row of Campbell soup cans in 1980. Since there was very little visible difference between Warhol and a mere advertising illustration, or between Lichtenstein and a panel from a comic book, CRASH and others might have inferred that since Lichtenstein is Art, by authority of the media, and looks just like comic strips, well, comic strips too must be Art. After all, curators in exalted museums make the same inference every day: since Picasso and the primitive look so much alike . . .

But Lichtenstein was an artist of im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mense sophistication, steeped in the history of art and in the art world of his time, with a marvelous sense of the semiotics of mechanical reproduction. What he uses wittily and allusively, CRASH employs without any sense of why it is there to begin with. Think of the use Lichtenstein makes of the dot pattern of the Ben Day screen—a mechanical effect carefully painted in by hand. CRASH picks up on such things because they are there, with no clear sense that in Lichtenstein they carry a significance wholly absent from his own work. CRASH uses huge cropped heads, and there is a clever portrait, recognizable, of Keith Haring, with little replicas of Haring's familiar icons running around the rims of his glasses. This is certainly an inspired representation, but in execution it is flaccid: the copies of those icons have none of the energy that they radiate in Haring's drawings. It is simply a matter of control. CRASH cannot draw, he can only copy the outsides of drawings without conveying their life. The energy in every mark Haring makes evaporates in these tentative efforts with the magic marker—so different from the authentic sweep of the spray can of which CRASH is master. He of course cannot go back to his train sides, so he must go forward. I hope he sells enough to go to the kind of school that will liberate him from the compromising status of being an exhibit himself—like that warrior who danced for the opening of the Maori art exhibit at the Met.

DAZE, I think, has made genuine progress toward becoming Chris Ellis; the forms of writing are vestigial in his work, which chiefly shows images of street people—prostitutes, toughs and musicians—but executed in his adolescent sick greens and reds. His work is affecting without being promising, and his use of collage—cutout heads from subway and bus maps—does not cover the desperate innocence of his endeavor. But here and there are scraps of energy, a certain linear vitality, that suggest potential for a more auspicious order. For all the floundering of art education against the forces of the age, one sees how finally indispensable to the existence of art its discipline is.

The show, alas, closed on December 1, and the meager catalogue put out by Janis will afford a very inadequate idea of the strengths of these writers. I dare say CRASH and DAZE will be seen again, but I fear they will cling, tragically, to the forms that gave them entry to the difficult world they hope to conquer. For a marvelous glimpse of the difficult world from which they have graduated, you cannot do better than get hold of *Subway Art* by Martha Cooper and Henry Chalfant (Holt, Rinehart and Winston), which is full of breathtaking photographs of writers and writing. It is worth comparing with the 1974 text *The Faith of Graffiti* by Norman Mailer (with photographs by Merwyn Kurlansky and Jon Naar), if only to see the stupendous progress this curious art form made before it was, like so much else, co-opted by our insatiable appetite for the raw and the new. □

DANCE.

MINDY ALOFF

Mark Morris Dance Group
Menuetto

Mark Morris, a 28-year-old dancer from Seattle, is turning out choreography so eclectic and smart that he makes one feel rejuvenated. Just when many dancegoers were resigned to experiencing the twilight of modern dance, this freshness is a tremendous achievement, a function of inventiveness, musicality, clarity, giddy wit and a cultivated naïveté. Morris's influences, which he readily acknowledges in interviews, include Balkan folk dancing, flamenco and early modern dance; his musical taste encompasses several centuries and more than one continent. Last year at Dance Theater Workshop, his company, the Mark Morris Dance Group, performed a work in which several women hopped about in fastidious patterns to Thai restaurant Muzak, and another in which, as a homage to Socrates, several half-naked men trailed across the floor to Satie. This past November, as part of the Brooklyn Academy of Music's Next Wave Festival, Morris delivered an allegory of the American rat race, set to Herschel Garfein's collage of crowd sounds and electronically "realized" instrumental passages. The title, *Championship Wrestling After Roland Barthes*, alludes to the essay that inspired both the structure and tone of the dance. Vivaldi's Gloria in D was

GUATEMALA, I CARRY YOUR NAME

● A 25-minute slide show with soundtrack about Guatemala's 1½ million displaced people

To rent ($15) contact:
Oxfam America
115 Broadway
Boston, MA 02116
(617) 482-1211

Produced by Take 4

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation.*

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

March of Dimes
SAVES BABIES

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:
Name
Street
City
State Zip

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

Forum
IMPACT OF U.S. ELECTIONS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Speakers: FRANK BARBARO, Assemblyman; WILLIAM DAVIS, S.J., Christian Institute; EVA GOLD, NARMIC; Representative from the FMLN-FDR.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16

Refreshments 6:30, Forum 7 pm

Community Church of New York
40 E. 35th Street
New York City

$3 in advance, $4 at the door
Facilitated by Ruth Messinger.

Sponsored by Community Church of New York and CISPES. For information and reservations call (212) 242-1040.

LET'S END THE COLD WAR AGAINST CUBA

A dialogue sponsored by the
HUMANIST SOCIETY OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK

a chapter of the
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

Guest Speaker: DR. WAYNE S. SMITH
Former chief of U.S. interests section
in Havana, 1979-1982

Presiding: PROF. RICHARD FALK
Center of International Studies, Princeton University

MONDAY, APRIL 15

The New York University Club
123 West 43rd Street
New York City

6:30 pm Dinner and Reception, $19
8 pm Dialogue only, $5

Please send your name, address, phone and affiliation with your check payable to: Humanist Society of Metropolitan NY, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Reservations limited. For information call Jesse Gordon, (212) 687-2477.

The New York Public Library Presents:

EMPOWERMENT: A BLACK WOMAN'S ISSUE

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 6 PM

Moderator: Paule Giddings, author of When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America. Panelists: Jewell Jackson McCabe, President, National Coalition of 100 Black Women; Althea Simmons, Director, Washington Bureau, N.A.A.C.P.; Gloria Toote, Vice Chair, President Reagan's Private Sector Initiative Council; C. Delores Tucker, Vice Chair, National Black Women's Political Caucus.

THE POWER OF THE WORD: AN EVENING OF STORYTELLING

MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 6 PM

Moderator: Paula Marshall, author of Praisesong for the Widow. Panelists: Augusta Baker, Storyteller-in-Residence, University of South Carolina; Karen Fields, co-author of the oral history Lemon Swamp and Other Places; Ntozake Shange, author of For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow Is Enuf; Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor, producer of National Public Radio documentaries on black literature and folk culture.

Trustees Room (206), Central Research Library, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Reservations recommended. Call (212) 930-0855.

Presented in conjunction with Women of Courage: An Exhibition of Photographs by Judith Sedwick, on view through February 28.

These programs made possible by grants from The Vincent Astor Foundation and Exxon Corporation.

the background for *Gloria*, whose motifs were a stiff-kneed zombie walk and a lizardlike swish on the belly. And the pièce de résistance, *O Rangasayee*, consisted of a twenty-odd-minute solo to Indian vocal music, performed by Morris himself, in a Gandhi diaper, his palms and the edges of his feet painted crimson, his dark mass of tousled curls tossing flirtatiously against his muscular arms or braced thighs.

All of these were deft and carefully performed dance entertainments. Morris has already learned that any gesture—any subject matter—can work to any music, as long as the rhythmic context seems right. *O Rangasayee*, for example, is built up serially in two dimensions—pattern and emotion. Each verse of the song is a bit more ornamented than the previous one, and following the changes gives intellectual pleasure. Meanwhile the larger dynamic is from calm to frenzy. As with much of his work, Morris begins by setting out the basic movements of the piece, in this case poses that evoke both ancient Indian sculpture and famous dance photographs from the early part of this century. Many of the poses could, in another context, be coarse or erotic—a glance over a cocked shoulder, a waggling head and so forth—but here they are clearly to be seen as part of a larger process and so the lack of emphasis on any individual moment endows them all with innocence. When, at last, Morris lies on his back, sweating and spent, and rubs the blush on his hands along his naked stomach, the moment is as shameless as if the dancer were a child or an animal. I know of no other male dancer who could bring off this exact primeval tone.

In the *Roland Barthes* piece, Morris attempts to plunge us into violent action and to withdraw us stainlessly. The conceit is a bout of professional wrestling where, as in a superhero TV show, he uses slow motion to indicate heroic effort. (Barthes called such effort "emotional magniloquence.") At one point, one wrestler slugs another, and the victim, manipulated by her team, is converted on the recoil from a loser into an acrobat of God: the punch drives her into breathtaking lifts and a long somersault, thanks to her supporters, who become anonymous, machinelike as they act, in the manner of Japanese stagehands. The physical beauty of the sequence seems to serve a moral point about violence and delight, namely that they can be successfully linked only in a comic world. *Roland Barthes* is a kind of retort to Twyla Tharp's *Fait Accompli*, with its boxing imagery and dark romanticism.

Indeed, its occasionally flagrant camp notwithstanding, Morris's work is less likely to err in the direction of sensual display than that of didacticism. Every so often, one glimpses the moralist behind the dance ("See, men can be lyric and vulnerable, women can be bellicose and unforgiving") and it's as if someone spiked an eggnog with cod-liver oil. I do understand that controlled doses of principle help to establish a point of view. In interviews, Morris has stated his desire to be "a master"—but he also specifies terms. After years in New York City trying to make ends meet as a performer (with Eliot Feld, Lar Lubovitch, Hannah Kahn) and then as a choreographer, he moved back to Seattle; now he makes only occasional ventures to New York. He has also emphasized, both in his choreography and his public remarks, that he's gay and a feminist. There's no reason that Morris's convictions should be of less help to him than, say, cynicism is to Tharp or nihilism is to Paul Taylor. They just shouldn't get in the way of his dances.

Helgi Tomasson is a longtime principal dancer with the New York City Ballet who, in the past few years, has been making dances for School of American Ballet workshops. This year, he choreographed his first work directly for the parent company: *Menuetto*, set to Mozart's Divertimento No. 17 in D Major. Given its world premiere in Saratoga last summer, the ballet, with minor additions, enjoyed its New York premiere during N.Y.C.B.'s two weeks of repertory prior to the *Nutcracker* season. For a work with such a pronounced pastoral tone and modest manners, *Menuetto* is surprisingly controversial. Either people love it for its intricate phrasing and limpid virtuosity, or they find its choreography unfocused, fussy, without drama or reason for being. It's as if two different ballets were being discussed.

To some extent, two different ballets are being perceived. Tomasson has made a pair of ballerina roles—for Kyra Nichols and Maria Calegari—in the manner of the Tharp/Robbins hit *Brahms/Handel*, where the ballerinas are Calegari and Merrill Ashley. In each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work, the ballet is an occasion to compare the styles of two regents without pitting one against the other. In *Brahms/Handel*, where two different musical sensibilities are involved (the score is Brahms's variations on a Handel theme), the comparison makes sense. In *Menuetto*, it seems a heavy-handed way to treat such a transparent piece of Mozart, where the first violin is sufficiently singled out as the focus to suggest that one ballerina would do. The character of the Divertimento would also seem to call for a light, sure symmetry; the music has a balance and sweetness that seem utterly foreign to mystery or ambiguity. Yet Tomasson appears to have gone out of his way to develop asymmetrical stage pictures, baroque diagonals and other strategies that are fraught with formal suspense and dynamism. What he has made is, I think, rather lovely, but it is not quite what Mozart has made and the difference is unnerving, like a print in which one color is out of register.

All this said, there are moments in the ballet so beautifully phrased they give me goose bumps. My favorite ones fall in a little trio, danced with particular delicacy by corps members Peter Boal, Carlo Merlo and Katherine Ryan. The music, a minuet, is a songlike affair at first, almost a country song, but it soon becomes the subject of exquisite embroidery in a series of lilting variations. The song is clearly stated and end-stopped after each "verse," and at first Tomasson gives the trio clear-cut, end-stopped phrases. The eye has a chance to appreciate the brilliant sharpness of Boal's line, the refinement of Ryan's point work, the feline spring of Merlo's jump. Then, slyly, a dance phrase for Ryan soars over the cadence of the musical phrase. The next time, the men don't finish off quite so squarely either, and soon the dance has become a charming sort of checkers game with the Divertimento, so that you never quite guess where the choreography and the music will meet up for a rest. Tomasson doesn't exact any psychological tension from his rhythmic patterns, although his musical gifts are such that he could if he chose to. I was among those who liked *Menuetto* for its ease and liquidity, and I wasn't put off by its lack of drama. Tomasson's limited accomplishment here suggests that with appropriate music he'd at least have a chance to satisfy the rest of the audience as well. □

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENT DESIRED

A ROOM WITH A VIEW. Quiet, responsible, nonsmoking Nation intern seeks to share or sublet living space in NYC for January, possibly longer. Up to $450/mo. Call Ben Spier at (212) 242-8400 or evenings at (212) 362-6947.

ASSOCIATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with America's oldest weekly journal of opinion? Join The Nation Associates, and participate in a variety of activities with dedicated readers like yourself.

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

RELIGIOUS COALITION for ABORTION RIGHTS. For information write: 100 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002.

BOOKS

DO WE NEED TO KNOW the ideas that motivate many Third World revolutionaries? Is there an alternative to capitalism and communism? Do Qaddafi's theses represent an emerging Third World theoretical orientation? Whether the answer is No or Yes, are you informed? An Alternative to Capitalism and Communism, edited and compiled from addresses given by Muammar el-Qaddafi. Available in paperback at $7 from Clarity Press, Suite 469 (N), 3277 Roswell Road N.E., Atlanta, GA 30305.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

BOOK SEARCH: We find scholarly, general out-of-print and rare books. Free search—reasonable prices. Please address requests: METROPOL BOOKS, Box 1374, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-8195. Lists welcome.

EDUCATION

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

School offers year-round programs of family living, Spanish classes, community work in a small Nicaraguan city. 1985 sessions begin January 5th—apply now! Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

EDUCATION

LEARN SPANISH

NATIVE SPEAKER/TEACHER

All levels, conversational and grammar.
Call Edgar Betelu at (212) 304-8845.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution firsthand.

Year-round course offerings.

Casa Nicaraguense de Español.

Phone (212) 949-4126 or write: 141 East 44th Street, Room 409, New York, NY 10017.

LEARN MEDITATION as a World Service through the Meditation Group for the New Age. For bi-monthly course write MGNA, Box 566-L, Ojai, CA 93023. No fees, donations welcome.

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

HOLIDAY GIFTS

HATE SHOPPING for holiday presents? Give The Nation this year. Special holiday gift rates. $18.50 for the first gift, $16 for each additional gift of a full year (47 issues) of The Nation. Use the convenient coupon in this issue.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

INVENTIONS, ideas, technology wanted! Industry presentation/national exposition. (800) 528-6050, x831.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MERCHANDISE

"NO MORE! No Vietnam War in Central America!" The background of this poster, a military coffin and the inscription "No More" originated during the Vietnam War and was widely circulated. Now the well-known artist Sam Wiener, angered by the Reagan Administration's war efforts in Central America, has forcefully expressed his outrage by splashing a fiery-red protest over the original. The posters, measuring 24½ by 19½ inches, are printed in three colors on high-gloss paper. They are available for $4 each, plus $1 for postage. (Orders of 5 or more are available for $3 per poster plus postage. Please inquire for special discounts on large quantity bulk orders.) Make checks payable to The Nation, and send to: The Nation, "No More," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

MONEY-MAKING OPPORTUNITIES

MAKE TWO THOUSAND PER MONTH
in the multilevel mail order business. For manual send $10 to: Earnest L. Riggs Enterprises, 3133 45th Avenue N., Birmingham, AL 35207.

$1,200/MONTH. Fill and mail pre-stamped, addressed envelopes. Work at own speed in spare time. Begin immediately. $9 to Atef Enterprises, Box 3011, Ashland, OR 97520.

PERSONALS

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS, all ages, seek enlightened correspondence, lasting relationships. Details: SCANNA-N, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

ORIENTAL WOMEN wish to correspond with Americans. Cherry Blossoms, Box 1021NA, Honokaa, HI 96727.

SINGLE PROFILE NEXUS creates a nationwide network of cultured singles. Box 19983, Orlando, FL 32814.

FOR PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE? Contact unattached like-minded, nationwide. CONCERNED SINGLES, Box 7737, Berkeley, CA 94707.

PERSONALS

ATTRACTIVE, SECURE, 54 looks 46 seeks attractive, intelligent lady for co-authoring socially aware Books First being edited with university. Help professor. Says can't miss. Also dancing, horses, mountains, lectures, possibly travel. Box 8855, Missoula, MT 59807.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles. 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081 or call (215) 566-2132.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING MANAGER—The Nation magazine. Responsible for solicitation, administration and development of both classified and Nation Mart sales program. Self-motivated, well-organized person. Sales and/or publishing experience preferred. Base salary plus commission. Send resume and cover letter to David Parker, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

WORK ABROAD. Unique Newsletter listing openings overseas $5. Current Bulletin and Jobsearch Kit $1. Directory of Hiring Agencies $3. Work Abroad, 2515 Rainier South, Suite 307-N, Seattle, WA 98144.

THE NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS on Latin America seeks to hire a full-time coordinator for our sustainer program, by February 1. Responsibilities include direct-mail fund raising, telephone contact with supporters of the organization, newsletter production, organizing small events, record-keeping and correspondence. Excellent communication skills and organization necessary. Fund-raising or administrative experience helpful. Salary: $16,000 plus excellent benefits. Application deadline January 15. Send resume to NACLA, 151 West 19th Street, New York, NY 10011.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

GOVERNMENT JOBS. $16,559 to $50,553 per year. Call (805) 687-6000, Extension R-1000.

POSITIONS DESIRED

ONE OF THE NATION'S FINEST interns seeks evening/weekend work copyediting, tutoring, proofreading, researching, etc. Call Susan Brown, (212) 242-8400, days.

SCULPTOR looking for a teaching position in a college or university. Contact Robert Tinch, 4 Hunting Street, Bridgeport, CT 06606, or call (203) 335-5699.

NEED SOMEBODY to speak/read/translate Russian? Nation intern is fluent, seeks part-time or full-time position as research assistant, proofreader, fact-checker or translator. Call Ben Spier at (212) 242-8400 or evenings at (212) 362-6947.

PUBLICATIONS

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

"FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS." This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

TECHNOCRACY TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE PEOPLE. Socialist bi-weekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4/one year, includes free pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1/four months. The People (N1), 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

THE ANATOMY OF VIOLENCE. Why crime? $2 postpaid. GPC, 9425 N. Chicago, Portland, OR 97203.

OFARI'S BIMONTHLY: A newsletter of opinion and information ignored or distorted by the press. Sample copy, Box 2368, Inglewood, CA 90305.

MODERN LIBRARY Collector #8, $2.15 postpaid. A. Oestreich, 340 Warren, Cincinnati, OH 45220.

SCHOLAR'S BOOKSHELF SALE CATALOG. Over 1,100 important scholarly books all at major discounts—art, music, history, literature, philosophy and religion. 8 catalogs per year. For free catalog: 51 Everett Drive B-3, Princeton Jct, NJ 08550.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECIPES

DELICIOUS—12 unusual vegetarian recipes from Cookee's Cozy Kitchen, Volume 1. Low-cost dishes that make expensive-tasting meals! Send $1.50 to Cookee Klein, Box 1762, New York, NY 10185.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4—Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

ISLAM, misrepresented, unalienating world faith. Learn Islamic concepts of life, social justice; consumption society impasse, interest free economy . . . more. Request your free package: Islamic Information Services, Box 8404, Philadelphia, PA 19101.

TRAVEL

THE HERITAGE OF CHINA

Explore China. Learn about Chinese culture in contrasting regions, including Xi'an. August 5 to 22. Reasonably priced. Graduate credit available. Write Intentional Travel, 209 Damron Drive, N. Manchester, IN 46962 or call (219) 982-4687.

ADVERTISE IN THE NATION
Call (212) 242-8400

ATTENTION GETTERS!

The Nation Classifieds are just that. Over 210,000 creative, involved and interested people read and respond to our Classified section each week. And our prices are incredibly reasonable. So if you want to get people's attention, fill out the coupon opposite this page and mail it in *today*!

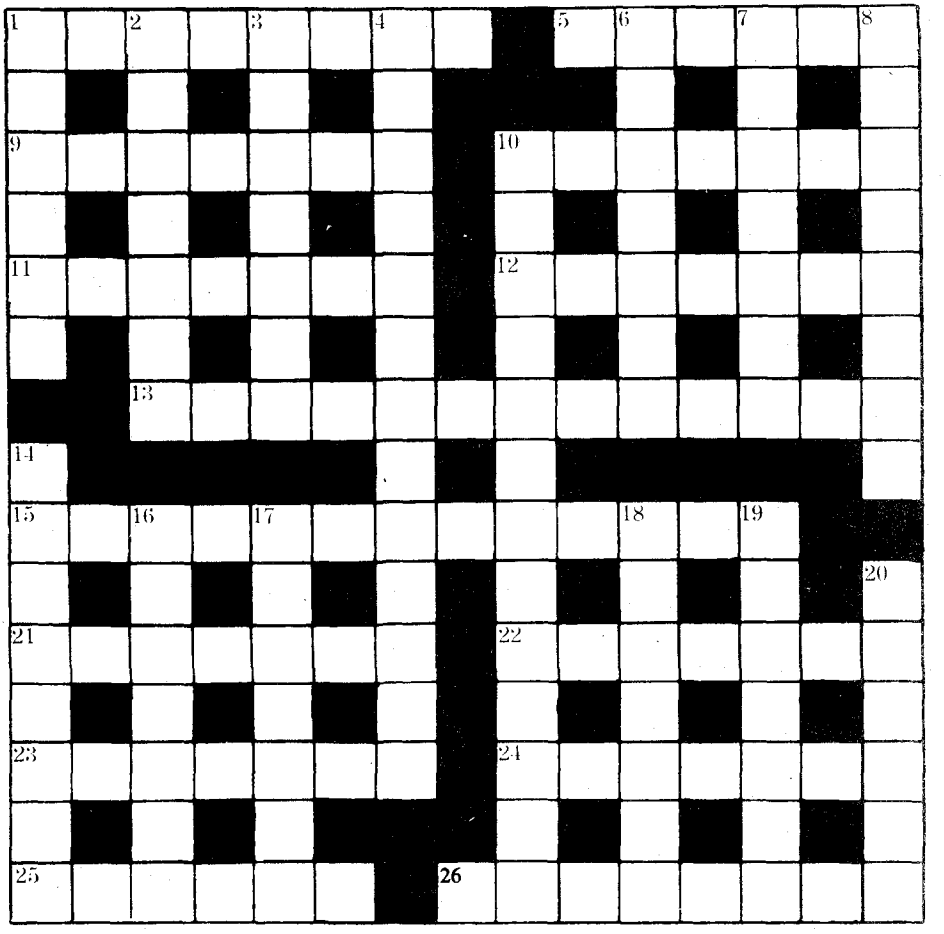
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2037

P	R	A	G	M	A	T	I	S	T		W	A	S	H
U		N		O		A		U		V		B		I
B	A	T	T	L	E	R		S	L	I	C	I	N	G
S		E		A		A		I		O		G		H
	E	N	T	R	A	N	C	E		L	I	A	N	A
A		N				T				A		I		N
F	R	A	N	C		U	N	S	E	T	T	L	E	D
T				R		L		H		E				D
E	X	T	R	A	F	A	R	E		D	O	W	E	R
R		R		C				A				A		Y
W	H	I	S	K		S	E	T	T	L	E	R	S	
A		G		L		W		H		E		R		H
R	I	G	V	E	D	A		I	M	A	G	I	N	E
D		E		D		M		N		V		O		R
S	O	R	T		S	I	N	G	L	E	T	R	E	E

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION NEW YORK X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 2038

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Perhaps the welcome seclusion of an old suite, done over. (8)
5 How they used to refer to a purge. (Al makes it non-mental, as they say.) (6)
9 Cancer typical of them? (7)
10 Blowhards, alternatively a well-known house in England. (7)
11 Little Italian is needed to name a high wind. (7)
12 Look in a Washington map to show it—or a globe, possibly. (7)
13 "Hands Across the Table" with one? (One might hope for the best.) (6,7)
15 Racing yacht, perhaps—the owner should have it good! (13)
21 Liquor profits, perhaps, might mean a good deal. (7)
22 Criticism of the little naval officer when the foreign religious man is around? (7)
23 Its role perhaps hangs around for a while. (7)
24 Gets rid of unwanted merchandise. (And soul in torment as a result?) (7)
25 Fairly close to a ghost, as one might look at it! (6)
26 Those who won't pay cash for old horses? (8)

DOWN

1 They might be offered to you with a bottle. (Some consider them booby traps.) (6)
2 Detroit and Chicago sportsmen—perhaps only a little roar from one. (4,3)
3 The air of a Marine might show where his sort fought. (7)
4 Gold sets, mined from displacements. (13)
6 Found more conveniently, perhaps, and it's in here, if you're German. (7)
7 You and I get a bad mark around it—but keep it up! (7)
8 The kind they had to deal with at 3—sort of cross-bearing inside. (8)
10 The sort which go, go upon sickness. (8,5)
14 One Columbus had to deal with is a ringer, a well-known one. (8)
16 Like a bad guy in the fairy tale, his gore obviously gets spilt. (7)
17 Those who try to find out whether we have moved part of the ammunition? (7)
18 An agent, perhaps, has her dug-up land at heart. (7)
19 A juicy appointment, as they say, takes time—and fancy accouterments. (7)
20 Against what sounds like poetry? (6)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules," send for those of Mr. Lewis to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on the CULTURE WARS.
Penny Lernoux on LATIN AMERICA.
Stephen F. Cohen on the SOVIET UNION.
Mindy Aloff on DANCE.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you.

Add your voice to ours.

Special Introductory Rate for New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

- ☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
- ☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
- ☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8501

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND!
(And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

GIFT TO

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $____ for ____ subscription(s).
(Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D8501

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED